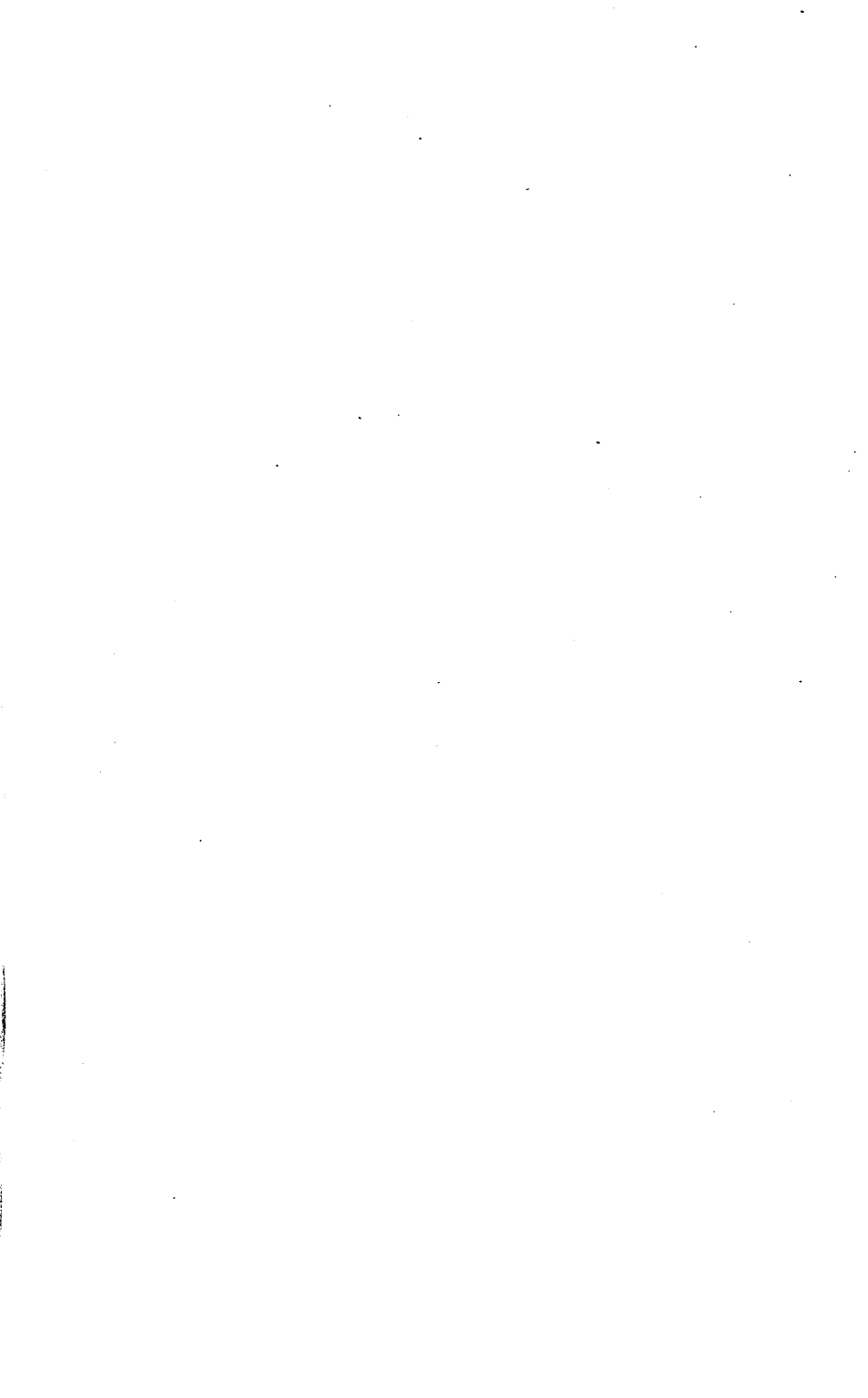


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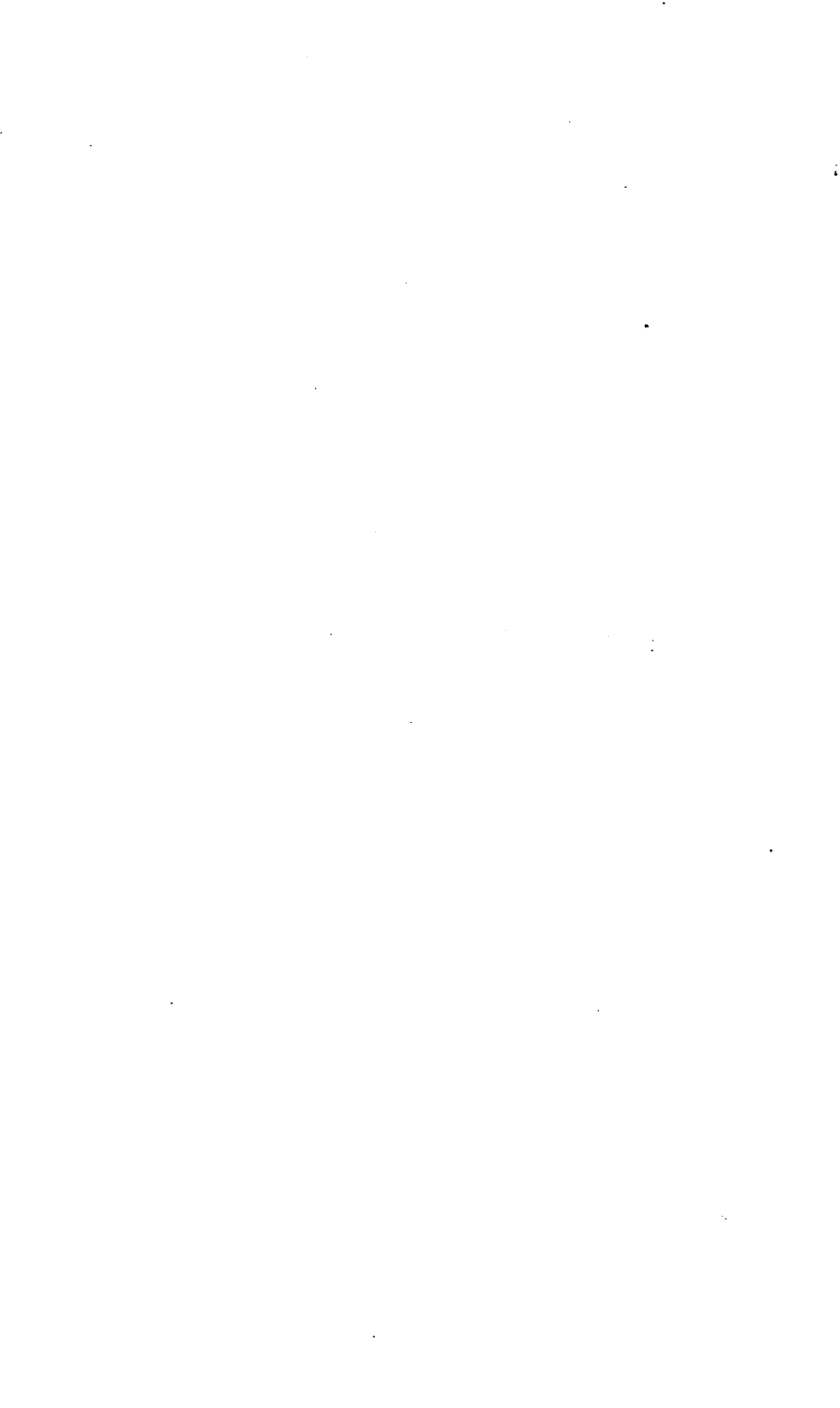
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**THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF
WEALTH AND WORK
IN ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION**



THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF WEALTH AND WORK

IN ITS HISTORICAL EVOLUTION

BY

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‘THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF SOCIETY’

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To
MY FATHER
and
MY WIFE'S FATHER
THE ONE HERE, THE OTHER YONDER

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PREFACE

PROBABLY the thoughts of men have never been so busy with 'social problems' as to-day. Among these problems none is more warmly debated than that of 'capital and labour.' In the past its discussion has often suffered because the disputants have ignored history. They have either assumed that 'political economy' is a 'static' science whose 'laws' are always the same, or, while they have claimed that to-day has a share in the making of to-morrow, they have forgotten that yesterday must similarly have had a share in the making of to-day ! Yet the problems of 'capital and labour' are but forms of the wider problems of wealth and work, and these are at once as old, as constant, and yet as various, as human society. Here, as elsewhere, the millenniums of history have some lessons for the twentieth century. To-day this is being increasingly recognized. One of the tokens of the change is the publication of not a few volumes upon the history of property and labour. Among them there is room for one on the history of these subjects in the Bible. For there are multitudes for whom biblical teaching is decisive, and multitudes more for whom it has weight, while even those for whom the Bible is only ancient history often find it interesting and instructive history. At the least it is the history

of a race that 'counts,' for it culminated in Jesus of Nazareth.¹

I have already laid out the teaching of the Bible on 'social subjects' in general, as well as on a number of particular ones, in a volume entitled *The Bible Doctrine of Society in its Historical Evolution*.¹ From that volume, however, for reasons of space, three great subjects—wealth, work, womanhood—were excluded. The first two of these are correlative, and naturally go together. This book traces what the Bible has to say about them. The method of arrangement is the same as in the earlier work. The historical development of Old Testament thought on the two subjects is examined in four chapters, and then the teaching of the New Testament in two. The first four chapters follow, in the main, a chronological order, the first dealing with the Patriarchal story, and the second, third, and fourth with the periods of Hebrew national life, respectively before, under, and after the Kings. The chief exception is in the relation of the first two chapters to each other. The Patriarchal story is treated rather as embodying the ideal of early Israelite thought than as portraying actual history. The two chapters, therefore, really both belong to the first period of Israel's national story, the one delineating its concept of the way in which ideal men would behave, the other of the way in which an actual Hebrew in the actual 'world' of early Israel ought to

¹ This particular study has also the minor advantage that the ancient documents upon which it builds are universally accessible, and that, therefore, every reader can 'check' his author's conclusions if he will.

² Published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark (Edinburgh).

conduct his life. Again, not a few scholars would divide the subject-matter of the second and third chapters, not at the rise of the Monarchy (c. 1000 B.C.), but at the beginning of 'written prophecy' (c. 780 B.C.). Yet this difference does not much affect the story of the evolution of social doctrine in Israel, for the evolution took place, whether its beginnings were rather earlier or rather later.

For the purposes of historical study the documents used must be approximately dated. A conspectus of the periods to which the various Old Testament books are here assigned is appended to this preface. The reasons for the dates will be found in books devoted to the subject. The Book of Ezekiel links the Monarchy and the Exile. Here, as in the *Bible Doctrine of Society*, it is quoted with the Monarchic documents. The reason is there given.

The New Testament books all belong to a single epoch, and are treated together. The two chapters on their teaching are divided, not according to chronology, but according to subject-matter. In the first (chap. v.) the New Testament ideal is set out, in the second (chap. vi.) the way in which the New Testament writers apply the principles of their ideal to the particular problems of their own day. The relation between these two chapters, therefore, is not dissimilar to that between the first two on the Old Testament. Yet for Christians there is an important difference. The early Hebrew ideal is of interest only as the historical starting-point of biblical thought. Christians believe that the New Testament ideal is final for humanity—that it

describes the goal at which all later generations ought to aim, that it is the ideal for to-day.

After such a statement it might appear sufficient to examine the New Testament doctrine, without spending time on the Old. But on this subject, as on others, the Bible refuses to be torn in two. The New Testament doctrine presupposes the teaching of the Old Testament and completes it.¹ It is the flower of a plant, and to understand a flower the whole story of a plant—of its root, and stem, and leaves—must be studied, and not only the flower itself. Indeed, a botanist will often give greater space to the description of the earlier stages of the plant's growth than to that of the flower which is its climax and goal. The New Testament roots in the Old.

There are some subsidiary reasons why so large a space is here given to the Old Testament. One is that the social conditions of Old Testament times are more remote from our own, and therefore need fuller elucidation. Another is that passing references to instructive social customs are both more numerous and more obscure in the Old Testament than in the New. Again, some subjects which would need discussion under the New Testament, if it were treated separately, are here discussed on their appearance in earlier times, and the discussion is not repeated. In reality, indeed, the whole of the Old Testament discussion is preparatory to that of the New, as a number of 'studies' may precede a picture.

There is risk in studying the subjects of wealth and work by themselves. The modern way of

¹ Matt. v. 17.

study is to isolate special subjects and examine them alone. It proceeds by 'specialization.' The method has great advantages, but it has also a serious disadvantage. Historically such isolation is unnatural. Problems of wealth and work, in particular, do not occur *in vacuo*. They are 'part and parcel' of wider and more complex problems. In the Bible they always appear in this way. I have, therefore, frequently referred to the portions of the *Bible Doctrine of Society* that treat the larger problems of which in the several epochs these particular problems form a part.¹ While it is not necessary to 'look up' these references to understand the present book, yet if this be not done, the very real dangers of isolating particular social problems for separate study should continually be remembered.

Nor is this all. One of the tendencies of to-day is to assume that the problems of wealth and work, or of 'capital' and 'labour,' are the paramount social problems. Whether this assumption is right or wrong, it is not the assumption of the Bible. There the problems of wealth and work are ancillary. The paramount social problem is everywhere the relation of God to man and of man to God. While for the exposition of this statement I must refer readers to the larger book, it finds a good instance in the present subject. Not a few modern readers of the New Testament, in particular, are surprised that it says so little directly about questions of property and labour. The truth is that these problems have to do with the relations of men to each

¹ The references are so numerous that I have ventured to use the contraction *B. D. S.* for the book named.

other, and that the New Testament assumes that, if men be in the right relation to God, they will in consequence find right relations to each other. For its writers the man who really 'loves God with all his heart' will, of course, go on to 'love his neighbour as himself,' and, inspired with these two motives, he, with other like-minded men, will be able to solve all the social problems that confront him. The chief contribution, therefore, of the New Testament to the problems of wealth and work does not fall for discussion in a book on these isolated subjects! This is a paradox, but it is true. An attempt is made to meet the difficulty in the first section of chap. v., where the general New Testament doctrine of society is summarized. A subject may be ancillary though important, and this is so with the subjects of wealth and work in the Bible. This is often forgotten, with the consequence that the statement of biblical teaching on particular social questions is 'thrown out of focus,' and therefore misleads. Or, to vary the metaphor, this book describes only a part of the 'body' of Bible social doctrine, and not of the part where the heart lies.

The 'technical' use of terms has been usually avoided, but five common words are used throughout with particular meanings. These are 'Righteousness,' 'Accommodation,' 'Meekness,' 'leisure,' 'communism.' The particular meanings with which they are used are explained where they first become prominent in the discussion, but their use is so frequent that it is impossible to draw attention, whenever they occur, to the special connotation given them

in this volume. The initial letters of the first three are printed here, as in the *Bible Doctrine of Society*, in capitals, and this may serve to remind the reader of their special meanings. The other two, 'leisure' and 'communism,' do not lend themselves so readily to this device. In the instance of 'communism,' in particular, it would have aggravated a danger that I rather reluctantly run. The mere word is to-day the *bête noir* of no small multitude of people—as the mere words 'Socialism,' 'Radicalism,' and 'Liberalism,' were at different times in the not distant past. To use it is almost to challenge misunderstanding! Yet there is no convenient alternative term in English. I can, therefore, but hope that readers will remember the word's innocent etymology, and note the particular sense in which it is here used. After all, we all agree that some things ought to be held 'in common'—roads, for instance, and gas-lamps.¹

I have allowed myself, particularly in the last chapter, to refer to current problems rather more frequently than in the earlier work, but these are nowhere fully discussed. In some places, again, I have given explanations that will seem superfluous to readers who are conversant with the literature of social history, but I hope to find other readers who are not conversant with it, but who still wish to know the mind of the Bible on the 'burning' questions of to-day. A pleasant duty alone remains—heartily to thank my friends and colleagues, the Rev. Eric

¹ Another term demands a footnote. 'Jehovah' is used rather than 'Jahveh' as the 'proper name' of the God of Israel, because, though its origin was curious, it has now long been, in practice, an English word.

S. Waterhouse, M.A., D.D., and the Rev. F. Bertram Clogg, M.A., B.D., for 'reading the proofs' and making a number of valuable suggestions.

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December, 1923.

CONSPECTUS OF AUTHORITIES

FOR THE FOUR OLD TESTAMENT EPOCHS

THIS statement does not distinguish brief paragraphs, unimportant for social theory, that belong to one epoch but occur in the midst of passages that belong to another. For exact lists of these the reader is referred to Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, upon which this conspectus is based. At the same time, no quotation has been wittingly made even from these brief paragraphs, except for their proper period, without the fact being noted. Where Driver does not date a Psalm, Briggs' Commentary in the *International Critical* series has been followed.

i. *Documents for the Patriarchal Story*

The 'Jahvist' and 'Elohists' parts of Genesis—viz. Gen. ii. 5–25; iii.; iv.; vi. 1–8; vii.; viii.; ix. 18–28; x.; xi. 1–19; xii.; xiii.; xv.; xvi.; xviii.–xxii.; xxiv.–xxvi.; xxvii. 1–45; xxviii. 10–22; xxix.–xxxv.; xxxvii.–xlvi.; xlv. 1–5, 28–34; xlvii.; xlviii.; l.

ii. *Documents for the pre-Monarchic Period*

The 'Jahvist' and 'Elohists' parts of Exodus, Numbers and Joshua—viz. Exod. i.–v.; vii. 14–25; viii.–xi.; xii. 21–42; xiii.–xv.; xvii.–xxiv.; xxxii.–xxxiv. Num. x. 29–36; xi.–xiv.;

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xvi. 12-34; xx.-xxiv.; xxv. 1-5; xxxii. Joshua ii.-vii.; viii. 1-29; ix.; x. 1-27; xiv. 6-15; xvi.; xvii.; xxiv.

The earlier parts of Judges and of 1 Samuel i.-xi.—viz. Judges i.; ii. 1-10; iii. 1-3; iv.-ix.; x. 1-5; xi.-xix.; xxi. 1-4. 1 Sam. i.; ii. 11-26; iii.-vi.; ix.; x. 1-16; xi.

Ruth.¹ Gen. xlix. and Deut. xxxiii. Deut. xxxiv.

iii. *Documents for the Monarchy*

Histories—1 Sam. ii. 1-10, 27-36; vii.; viii.; x. 17-27; xii.-xxxii. (some chapters being later than the main story). 2 Sam. (chap. vii. and perhaps the Songs in xxii. and xxiii. being later than the rest). 1 and 2 Kings (the Compiler's parts, e.g. 1 Kings viii. 23-61, falling quite at the close of the Monarchy).

The Deuteronomic writings—Deut. i.-xxxii. Joshua i.; viii. 30-35; x. 28-43; xi.; xii.; xiii. 1-12; xxii. 1-8; xxiii. Judges ii. 11-23; iii. 4-15; x. 6-18.

Prophecies—Hosea, Amos, Micah (except perhaps iv. 11-13). Isaiah i.-x.; xi. 1-9; xiv. 24-32; xv.-xxxiii.; xxxvi.; xxxvii.; xxxviii. 1-8. Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah (except perhaps iii. 14-20). Jeremiah i.-ix.; x. 17-25; xi.-xxxii.; xxxiii. 1-16; xxxiv.-xlix.; li. 59-64. Ezekiel.

Psalms ii., iii., vii., xiii., xviii. (2 Sam. xxii.), xx., xxi., xxiii., xxiv. 7-10, xxvii., xxviii., xxxvi. 1-4, xlv., xlv., lii., liv.-lvi., lviii., lx.-lxiii., lxxii., lxxvi., xc., xci., ci., cx. Lamentations.

¹ Ruth is included here because, whatever its date, it describes the life of a typical village of early Israel. Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 34 f.

Proverbs i.-ix.; x. 1-xxii. 16; xxii. 17-xxiv. 22; xxv.-xxix.—i.e. the chief collections.

iv. *Documents for the Post-Monarchic Period*

The 'Code of Holiness' (Lev. xvii.-xxvi.)—possibly Monarchic; if so, this illustrates the 'overlapping' of periods.

The 'Priestly' documents—Gen. i.; ii. 1-4; v.; vi. 9-22; ix. 1-17; xi. 10-32; xvii.; xxiii.; xxviii. 1-9; xxxvi.; xlvi. 6-27. Exod. vi.; vii. 1-13; xii. 1-20, 43-51; xvi.; xxv.-xxxi.; xxxv.-xl. Lev. i.-xvi.; xxvii. Num. i.-ix.; x. 1-28; xv.; xvi. 1-11, 35-50; xvii.-xix.; xxv. 6-18; xxvi.-xxxi.; xxxiii.-xxxvi. Joshua xiii. 15-32; xv.; xviii.-xxi.; xxii. 9-34. Judges xx. and xxi. 5-14 (of similar type if not 'Priestly').

Ezra-Nehemiah. 1 and 2 Chronicles.

Prophecies—Isaiah xl.-lxvi. (whether by one or more authors); xi. 10-16; xii.; xiii.; xiv. 1-23; xxi. 1-10; xxiv.-xxvii.; xxxiv.; xxxv.; xxxviii. 9-20. Jeremiah x. 1-16; xxxiii. 17-26; l.; li. 1-58. Joel. Obadiah (though vv. 1-9 are of Monarchic origin). Haggai. Zechariah (three Prophecies). Malachi.

Psalms i., iv.-vi., viii.-xii., xiv.-xvii., xix., xxii., xxiv. 1-6, xxv., xxvi., xxix.-xxxv., xxxvi. 5-12, xxxvii.-xliv., xlvii.-li., liii., lvii., lix., lxiv.-lxxi., lxxiii.-lxxv., lxxvii.-lxxxix., xcii.-c., cii.-cix., cxi.-cl. Job. Ecclesiastes. Song of Songs.

Proverbs xxiv. 23-34; xxx.; xxxi. Esther. Daniel. Jonah.

The Bible Doctrine of Wealth and Work

I

THE PATRIARCHAL STORY

A. Patriarchal Property

WEALTH was one of the elements in the early Hebrew concept of human perfection. The primitive Israelite did not, indeed, use these modern terms, but none the less he held this creed, though he expressed it in his own way. In the story of Genesis each of the three Patriarchs is rich.¹ There seems to be an exception in Jacob's earlier life, when he fled to Padan-aram, but this was before he took his place at the head of the chosen family and so became 'Patriarch.'² There seems to be a second exception, when, near the end of his life, famine drove him into Egypt, but in reality the story tells how, through the strange providence that made Joseph ruler of Egypt, Jacob escaped the poverty that threatened, and lighted upon the wealth of Goshen.³ Wealth was integral to the early Hebrew notion of 'what ought to be.' The Patriarchal story depicts the primitive Israelite

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 5-10.

² *B. D. S.*, p. 6.

³ *B. D. S.*, p. 359.

ideal, and in it every Patriarch is, of course rich.¹

The Patriarch's wealth was of the kind suited to the stage of civilization to which he belonged. He possessed not all that would satisfy modern needs, but everything to meet his own. The narratives of Genesis often enumerate the chief items in his property. For instance, Abraham's 'servant' said of him, '[The Lord] has given to him flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and menservants and maidservants, and camels and asses.' Sometimes 'tents' is added, a term used to include both the tents and the 'stuff' that was kept in them—that is, all movables except livestock.² Of these possessions the principal were the flocks and herds. To take them as *the* distinctive possession is characteristic of nomadism, and it is perhaps evidence that the Hebrews once had actually been nomads that their collective word for 'cattle' (מקנה) meant primarily 'property.' So Jacob's overflowing gift to Esau consisted just of the five domestic animals named in Genesis—oxen, sheep, goats, camels, asses.³ With these there went, of necessity, two other possessions, implied rather than named, but not, therefore, less important—water and land. Water is here put first because the valuable plots of land lay round wells. The

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, chap. i.

² Gen. xxiv. 35.

³ Gen. xiii. 5, xxxi. 37, xlv. 20. The term translated 'stuff' could also be used of any one kind of movables—of jewels (xxiv. 53), for instance, or of sacks (xlii. 25).

⁴ Gen. xxxii. 14 f. The horse, always a foreign animal to the Hebrews, is named in Genesis only in a list of Egyptian domestic animals (xlvii. 17) and in a simile (xlix. 17), while the dog, the camp's unclean and unvalued scavenger, has no mention in the Bible till Exod. xi. 7, xxii. 31.

Patriarch must 'own' at least one well and the land that lay about it.¹ The well was not always the same well, but there must be one. The sense in which 'own' is here used will appear later.²

Beside the concept that the ideal man must be a wealthy man, it is possible to distinguish two other elements in the doctrine of property implied by the oldest stories of Israel. The one is that property was held to be the Lord's gift, the other that ownership had already more than one meaning. These two will be taken in order.

Whatever account of the origin of property anthropology may ultimately give, it had already become a universal phenomenon long before the days of Abraham, and for the present subject the proper question is not 'What was the actual origin of property?' but 'What opinion did the ancient Hebrew hold of its origin?' To this question the answer is plain; the ancient Hebrew thought of the world as God's property, and of all human possessions as His gift.

The earliest documents do not explicitly assert that God *made* the world—for the notion of creation is an abstract one, and therefore probably comparatively late³—but they always assume, and occasionally assert, that God is the absolute master of all things, that He can do what He will with them, and that He distributes them to

¹ e.g. Gen. xxi. 25, xxvi. 15 ff., xxix. 2 ff. 'Property in water is more important and more primitive than property in land' (Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 99).

² pp. 26 ff.

³ Gen. i. 1-ii. 4 belongs to the 'Priestly' source (P). The creation of plants, animals, and man, is indeed ascribed to God in J, but not that of the ground from whence they all derive (Gen. ii, 9., xix. 7).

men as He chooses. The whole of the pre-Abrahamic story in Genesis, for instance, proceeds on this assumption: God planted Eden at His will and gave it to man¹; He gave him for food, first the fruit of all trees, and later the flesh of all beasts, reserving at His will one tree in the first gift and blood in the second²; when He would He cursed the whole world for Adam's sake, and when He would He blessed it in Noah³; He could overwhelm the earth in the Flood, yet save of every kind some.⁴ It is the same in the Patriarchal story itself. In one of its passages, though in one of doubtful date, God is definitely called 'Possessor of heaven and earth'⁵; through the Patriarchs He chose to bless 'all the nations of the earth'⁶; Abraham's wealth was His gift⁷; so, too, even Jacob's food and raiment⁸; children were born according to His will⁹; He could call a Patriarch from Ur, protect him in Gerar, in Aram, in Egypt, and order the affairs alike of Potiphar and Pharaoh in His behalf¹⁰; prosperity and famine were both of His sending.¹¹ Throughout there is the practical assumption of omnipotence—that God can do as He likes—both in great things and small, without the theoretical word.

While in casual lists of Patriarchal property 'flocks and herds' form the first item, the story makes 'the Land' the principal gift of Jehovah. This is because the later Israelite, who cherished

¹ Gen. ii. 8 ff.

² Gen. ii. 16, ix. 3.

³ Gen. iii. 17, viii. 22.

⁴ Gen. vi. 7, vii. 2 ff.

⁵ Gen. xiv. 19, 22. Some interpret the term as 'creator.'

⁶ Gen. xxii. 18, &c.

⁷ Gen. xxiv. 35.

⁸ Gen. xxviii. 20, xlviii. 15.

⁹ Gen. xvi. 2, xvii. 16, &c.

¹⁰ Gen. xii. 10, xv. 7, xxviii. 20, xxxi. 29, xxxix. 5, xlv. 5, xlv. 4.

¹¹ Gen. xli. 25 f., &c.

the story, was not a nomad, but a 'settler.' For him land was more important than flocks and herds. To give 'the Land' to Israel was, in his thought, Jehovah's side of Israel's covenant with Him. This idea is central in the leading stories — in Abraham's first and second calls¹ and in his vision of the divided sacrifice²; in the call of Isaac³; in Jacob's vision at Bethel⁴ and in Jehovah's pledge to him when he went down into Egypt.⁵ Though not expressly named, it also lies behind Abraham's test on Moriah and Jacob's wrestling with the angel, for the trial of each Patriarch was that he risked his 'seed's' possession of 'the Land.' Though the three ideal men were in one way but 'wandering Syrians' amid an alien race,⁶ in another they already owned Canaan, for they used any part of it at will; it is only exceptionally that the story admits any molestation of them by the Canaanites⁷; and one day Canaan was to be their 'seed's' exclusive possession.⁸ They lived by faith in God's gift of 'the Land.'

The consequence of the belief that human property is entirely God's gift was a sense that a man held his possessions, as well as his family, not as absolute owner, but as God's steward.⁹ For instance, recognition of gift was one of several things signified by sacrifice.¹⁰ While this seed idea of responsibility was shared by many primitive peoples, its full harvest only ripened in Hebrew soil. Again, God could claim back

¹ Gen. xii. 1 ff., xiii. 14 ff.

² Gen. xxvi. 2 ff.

³ Gen. xlvi. 1 ff.

⁴ e.g. Gen. xxvi. 15.

⁵ Cf. *B, D, S.*, p. 11,

⁶ Gen. xv.

⁷ Gen. xxviii. 10 ff.

⁸ Deut. xxvi. 5.

⁹ e.g. Gen. xv. 16 ff.

¹⁰ e.g. Gen. xii. 7, xxviii. 22.

anything that He had given, as the story of Moriah shows. The religious man from the first regarded property as embodying a relation to God. It was a kind of sacrament. The whole biblical and Christian account of it finds here.

Of the different senses of such words as 'property,' 'possessions,' 'ownership,' three may here be distinguished. In one way property can only be personal; *its actual use* belongs to the individual. Nothing, for instance, is more truly 'common' than air, and no one attempts to set up private ownership in it, yet the actual use of a particular mouthful belongs to a single person. So, too, the use of a picture in a public gallery is made by its visitors each for himself. In a true sense he only 'owns' anything who uses it, and in this sense all ownership is personal.

But more commonly he is held to 'own' property who *controls* its use. For instance, he 'owns' a picture who decides that this man and not that shall see it, that it shall be put here and not there. Under this meaning, though not under the first, property may be 'communal.' For instance, in a modern town the people, through representatives, may control, and so own, a park. In the phrase 'communal property,' however, the term has usually and naturally a third connotation—property is called 'common' when any member of a given society may use it if he likes. For instance, in this sense a village green belongs to the villagers. Here there appears a third sense of ownership. By an 'owner,' therefore, may be meant either an individual who *actually* uses a thing, or a person or society that *controls* its use, or a society each

of whose members has the *right* to its use. Perhaps the last may be called 'potential' use. In the first sense property is private, in the second it may be either private or communal, in the third it is communal. In any given instance of 'property' two of the meanings, or even three, may obtain together, but their distinction in thought is often important. All imply that there are 'outsiders,' excluded from ownership.

These three kinds of ownership may all be illustrated from the relation of a Patriarch to 'the Land.' Of the first kind his possession of a well and its surrounding plot of fruitful ground is an example. It was his in actual use. Again, all Canaan was his in the third way—he, like other nomads upon it, could use any unoccupied part of it at his need. The difference between these two kinds of ownership and the second appears if Abraham's ownership, either of all Canaan or a well within it, be compared with his ownership of the Cave of Machpelah.¹ He bought this 'for a burying place,' and this meant that he was to control its use, and to exclude others from its control even when he was away from it. He did not so control the Oasis of Beersheba, for instance, let alone the whole Land. It is true that to his descendants the story of Machpelah had further significance. For them the fact that Abraham buried his dead, not in the Mesopotamia of his fathers, but in the Canaan of the Covenant, was a final proof that he indeed made Canaan his own country,² yet the trans-

¹ Gen. xxiii. (P). The late date of this story is of no moment for the purpose of this paragraph.

² Cf. Ruth i. 17.

action itself illustrates what is meant by 'private property in land.' Later this was to be basal in Hebrew society, but for the present it was subsidiary. The Patriarch owned the whole Land in the third sense of possession distinguished above, the Cave of Machpelah in the second, the particular spot on which he camped in the first. A well was his in *actual* use, Machpelah his to *control*, the Land his in *potential* use. Normally the idea of control is the most prominent in the notion of private property and the idea of potential use in that of communal.

It follows that Patriarchal wealth for the most part could be called either 'private' or 'communal,' for the Patriarch owned it in the sense that he controlled it, but his family in the sense that every member had a right to its use. This was true, for instance, of the flocks and the 'stuff,' of the water and land. The power that harmonized the two rights was custom. While the head of the house had absolute control within certain limits, custom set the limits,¹ decreeing that every member of the great household should have some share, though by no means always an equal one, in the use of its possessions. While, for instance, Abraham could exclude Hagar from the family and so from its well, for all who belonged to the family—whether child or bondservant, wife or concubine—one of the first rights would be to water. This union of individual and communal property still exists in every true home—in one way the father, in another the whole family, 'owns' its property. The biblical doctrine of ownership

¹ e.g. Gen. xxxi, 14 ff., xxxviii, 26.

founds on trusteeship—the Patriarch was in trust *to* God *for* his family. A great authority declares it ‘more than likely’ that in the fact of history, as well as in the ideal of Israel, ‘joint ownership, and not separate ownership, is the really archaic institution.’¹ But whether this be so or not, a strict division between ‘private’ and ‘communal’ property is impossible in the Bible.

Yet there was, of course, already private property in the strict sense. For instance, a wife had her own possessions, included under the term ‘tent.’² The first private property would naturally be that which is most clearly of individual use—food and clothing. When Joseph wished to make his brethren each a personal gift he sent them ‘messes’ from his table,³ or ‘gave each man changes of raiment.’ Raiment, unlike food, could be kept, and to possess many ‘changes of raiment’ seems to have been the ancient Hebrew mark of distinctively personal wealth.⁴ A third natural kind of private property, especially a woman’s,⁵ was jewellery. So, besides raiment, Abraham’s servant gave Rebekah a golden nose-ring and golden bracelets, gifts that at once caught Laban’s frugal eye.⁶ Even these, however, would no doubt in time of famine turn out to be ‘communal’ property. In some Indian provinces the ryot ‘banks’ his savings in time of

¹ Maine, *Ancient Law*, chap. viii. Cf. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 150 f.

² e.g. Gen. xxxi. 33, xvi. 6. ³ Gen. xliii. 34. ⁴ Gen. xlv. 22.

⁵ Gen. xlv. 22; Judges xiv. 12 f., 19; 2 Kings v. 5, 22 f.

⁶ Yet sometimes also a man’s; e.g. Gen. xxxv. 4; Exod. xxxii. 2, xxxv. 22; Judges viii. 24 ff.

⁷ Gen. xxiv. 22, 30, 47.

plenty by loading his wife with jewellery,¹ to 'realize' it again later, if need be, for the good of the family. Money, again, easily suits individual use, and Joseph gave Benjamin a personal gift of 'three hundred shekels of silver' beside 'five changes of raiment.'² Yet here, too, it would be difficult to draw the line always between 'communal' and 'private' possessions, for all the other money dealings in Genesis are by the Patriarch with the alien on behalf of the family.³ The mass of Patriarchal property belongs quite as much to the community as to individuals. Individual *use* and paternal *control* were combined with common *possession*. This was natural, for it is the way of the family, and the ideal community of the Patriarchal story was a family.⁴

B. Leisure and Toil

There cannot be wealth without work.⁵ 'Providence' does, indeed, supply 'as a gift' the 'raw material' of wealth, but, as some old economists used to say, the 'raw material' of nature only becomes useful to man if he 'mix' his labour with it. A society, therefore, that desires to be wealthy must somehow secure a supply of work.

Work, however, is of two kinds. It may be

¹ Cf. Deut. iii. 22, xi. 2.

² Gen. xlv. 22.

³ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 20 f. In the Old Testament 'money,' of course, at least until the Exile, means 'pieces' of the precious metals measured by weight, and not 'coin,' authoritatively current by virtue of a ruler's 'image' or 'superscription.' See Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, iii., art. 'Money.'

⁴ *B. D. S.*, pp. 10 ff.

⁵ For the paragraphs under *B*, cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 8 f., 14 f., 359

'welcome' or 'unwelcome.' It is true that both individuals and societies vary in defining these terms. Work that is welcome to one man or society may be unwelcome to another. Still, for every man and every society there are two kinds of work, and historically the distinction is of great practical importance, for, while there is no difficulty in 'getting' welcome 'work done,' there is great difficulty in 'getting' unwelcome 'work done.' Much of the latter must be done if a society is to exist; more must be done if a society is to progress. Doubtless the ideal way 'to get it done' is by the voluntary self-denying labour of some or all of the members of the society that requires it. Probably there has always been some degree of such labour among men, but it has never yet even nearly sufficed to supply the amount of toil needed by societies of considerable size and permanence. If voluntary labour be inadequate, coercion is the only alternative. Historically it is 'normal' that a society, directly or indirectly, should coerce many of its members to do its necessary but unwelcome work. Slavery is the readiest instance of direct coercion, the 'wages system' of indirect. Under the latter a society, in effect, says to a multitude of its members, 'Unless you will do unwelcome work there are no wages for you, and so no food or clothing or shelter.' This illustrates what is meant by 'indirect coercion.' To distinguish those who do welcome and unwelcome work the terms 'leisured' and 'toiler' are suggested, for in a true interpretation 'leisure' is not a synonym for idleness or laziness. It denotes the state of the man who can and does *choose* his work.

Often the term 'work' is itself used as the opposite of 'leisure.' 'Toil,' however, is here preferred, as 'work' may also be used, and is here used, in a wider way, so as to include the 'occupations' both of the 'leisured' and the 'toiler.'

A further qualification needs to be added. It will be said, in criticism of the distinction just made, that under the 'wages system' many workmen like their work, and that others undertake it willingly because they know that it serves the welfare of society. This is undoubtedly true, but it only illustrates the way in which theoretical distinctions are 'blurred' in practice. In the practice of life men usually, or even always, act from 'mixed motives,' for motives may be 'mixed' though none of them is vicious. A 'toiler' under the 'wages system' may work in part from love of his work, in part as the willing servant of society, in part under the coercion of hunger. In so far as he acts under the first two motives his work is not 'toil,' in the sense here used; in so far as he acts under the third it is 'toil.' There are, no doubt, instances of wage-earners whose one motive is love of their work. They altogether escape 'toil.' More will be said on this subject and its further complications later. Here it is enough to make the distinction between welcome and unwelcome work, and, as theoretical distinctions rarely occur 'pure' in practice, to add that by a 'leisured' man is meant one whose 'occupation' is *principally* welcome and chosen, and by a 'toiler' one whose 'occupation' is *principally* unwelcome and imposed. The former would not

exchange his calling for another if he could; the latter would. This is the test.

It is worth noting that under the old Eastern method of slavery the same exceptions occurred. Some of the slaves, at least in a 'great household,' were set to 'occupations' that they liked. There are illustrations in 'Abraham's servant, the elder of his house, that ruled over all that he had,'¹ and in the Patriarch's so-called 'concubines'—or, rather, 'secondary wives,' for these were usually bondwomen. Again, Eastern 'bondservants' sometimes 'loved their masters,'² and rendered the families to which they belonged willing service. Such 'slaves' are familiar figures in the stories of the *Arabian Nights*. The same mixture of motive obtained under ancient slavery as under the modern 'wages system.' None the less, in spite of all exceptions and qualifications, the one is the ancient type, and the other the modern, of 'unwelcome work.'

Further, for millenniums slavery seemed to every one as 'natural' as the 'wages system' has seemed to most people in the last three centuries. Through a given long stage in the evolution of society 'slavery' was probably inevitable. It was a great example of the 'necessary imperfections' that for a while attach to the immature stages of the history of man.³

To return more closely to the Patriarchal story, in the 'Early Ideal' of the Hebrews the ideal man was not only wealthy but leisured. The Patriarch chose his work. He undertook what was welcome and left to others what was

¹ Gen. xxiv. 2.

² Exod. xxi. 5.

³ *B. D. S.*, pp. 159 ff.

unwelcome. For him this meant in general that he busied himself with the ordering of the alternate marches and settlements of nomadic life, and with the tending of cattle. Even here he might leave the lowlier tasks to his 'bondmen,' but, while the duties of the shepherd and the herdsmen as a whole were an 'abomination to the Egyptians,' they were honourable in the eyes of a nomad. On the other hand, the nomad despised agriculture. For him the typical unwelcome work was always tillage, the 'fag of the fields.' This preference is enshrined in one of the early stories of Genesis. Jehovah chose the offering of Abel the shepherd and rejected that of Cain the tiller. Similarly the Hebrew counted the toil of tillage a chief penalty of *primaevae* sin.¹ A Patriarch was a man of 'leisure.' He was busy, but busy with honourable and so chosen work. The dishonourable he escaped, leaving it to the 'slaves.' This was what bondmen were for. Leisure was an element in the Early Hebrew Ideal.

Yet it is easy to exaggerate the disadvantage of the biblical 'slave.' In the ancient East the 'bondservants' were indeed the 'property' of the head of the house, but so were his wives and children, nor was there any sharp line dividing the two. A concubine was a 'slave,' yet her position was not held unseemly. She was a secondary wife and not a 'mistress.' Her sons inherited with her lord's other sons.* If she were 'home-born' the family head would through

¹ Gen. iii. 17 ff.

* Bilhah's and Zilpah's, for instance. It is implied that Hagar's fate was unusual (Gen. xxi. 11 f.).

her be related to many other 'slaves' in his household. Especially would this be so when a bondwoman's son became head of the family, as Ishmael, for instance, might have done.¹ Though the verses that suggest this occur in a late passage, yet the custom was almost certainly primitive, for the distinction between bond and free tends to widen rather than to narrow with time. Similarly the case in Chronicles² in which a sonless father gives his daughter to an Egyptian 'slave' that he may have a grandson for heir, almost certainly illustrates ancient custom. In short, while the 'bondman' was the lowliest member of the family, he was one of its members as really as a wife or child. The type of slavery in current thought to-day is slavery of the black to the white, but, while in this it was unhappily too common that a slave-owner took a black 'mistress,' what would have been said of the suggestion that a slave-owner's daughter take a slave for husband? Further, in the absence of nearer heirs a 'home-born slave' might in early Israel even become head of the family. 'One born in my house,' said Abraham, 'is mine heir.'³ A slave, again, was 'over all that (Abraham) had'⁴; a slave greeted Rebekah and clasped bracelets on her hands⁵; Laban welcomed a slave as an honoured guest⁶; a host might call himself his guest's 'slave.'⁷ The word, indeed, was the conventional symbol of deference among the free⁸; it might describe a royal retinue

¹ Gen. xvii. 18 f.

³ Gen. xv. 2 f.

⁵ Gen. xxiv. 22, 30.

⁷ Gen. xviii. 3, xix. 2.

² 1 Chron. ii. 34 f.

⁴ Gen. xxiv. 2.

⁶ Gen. xxiv. 31.

⁸ Gen. xxxii. 4, xlii. 11, 13, &c.

or a god's worshipper¹; it could be used in a single sentence of the free and the bond²; its root meaning was simply 'worker,' and the corresponding verb could be employed of 'the service which a son does for his father as well as that which a master required from his slave.'³ Besides, there was usually no difference of colour between master and slave. The ancient difference between the bond and the free was not nearly so wide as the modern, and in the family there was a much nearer approximation to equality than would at first be supposed. Its members shared a sense of something like brotherhood. Chief of all, the 'slave' as well as his master might have fellowship with Jehovah. Not only is it written that Abraham's 'slave' prayed beside the well in Mesopotamia, 'but the 'angel of the Lord' held as direct converse with Hagar, an Egyptian 'slave,'⁴ as with Abraham himself.⁵ It is hard to say how much it was ultimately to mean for religion, and so for social doctrine, that in Israel's Ideal story there was an episode which told how God spoke with one who was at once a woman, an alien, and a slave. No doubt the Hebrew would think of the narrative rather as illustrating God's care for Ishmael than Hagar, yet the creed held that Jehovah might talk with any one in the chosen

¹ Gen. i. 7, xxvi. 24, xxxii. 10.

² Gen. xliv. 9.

³ Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites* (1889), p. 69, and *B. D. S.*, Index, *sub voce*. All this held true of Israel throughout Old Testament times, as will appear below.

⁴ Gen. xxiv. 12 ff.

⁵ Gen. xvi. 1, 7 ff., xxi. 17.

⁶ Unless any press the point that here not 'the Lord' speaks but His 'angel.' The latter term occurs also in Patriarchal theophanies (Gen. xxii. 11, &c.).

family. Equality was as yet unthought of, but here was soil in which equality could grow.

C. The Patriarch and his Home

The first necessity of any community is some degree of peace and order. The most elementary way to secure this is to admit the autocracy of one member of the community. The Patriarch was a kindly autocrat and the one completely free man of the family. Through this autocracy, tempered by custom, the order of the little society was secured, and with order welfare, for it was a Patriarch's duty to secure the welfare of the whole home. While in one way it existed for his sake, in another he existed for its. This becomes clear if the future be considered as well as the present. Abraham existed that Israel might come to be, and Israel existed because Abraham had been. 'I will make of thee,' ran God's purpose, 'a great nation.'¹

Of the other members of the society it may, in contrast, be said that their freedom and wealth were limited for the sake of its welfare. Bondservice, in particular, was a means to this end. It is an early instance of an 'imperfect institution' that was justifiable under the principle of Accommodation.² Or, to use another phrase, slavery was a first illustration of the way in which the liberty of the individual needs to be limited for the benefit of the community. The system of slavery could only be abolished when some other practicable way had been found for getting a society's necessary but unwelcome work done.

¹ Gen. xii. 2, &c.

² *B. D. S.*, pp. 159 ff., and pp. 86 f. below.

It appears, therefore, that, in order to realize the wellbeing of the society, it was only possible at that stage that one man be all that an ideal man ought to be. While the Patriarch, as the ideal individual, enjoyed both wealth and leisure, the other members of the community could not fully enjoy either. Yet none of them, not even the bondservants, were treated as mere tools. Their welfare was included in that of the society. To use our terminology, they were given some of the opportunities proper to personality, though not all. The perennial social problem is to reconcile the rights of the individual and society. Only the perfect society will do this perfectly. In the meanwhile either the individual or society must forgo some rights for the sake of the other. In the story of Genesis, if the Patriarch himself be omitted, it was the individual who yielded to the society. Yet there was the exception. The one ideal man enjoyed the full opportunities of personality as they were then conceived. The society flourished without infringing his liberty, or, rather, flourished through his liberty. In the instance of the Patriarch and his home the balance between the individual and the society already lay even. For primitive Hebrew thought the Patriarch ministered perfectly to the community and the community to the Patriarch.¹ And the typical community was home.

¹ To modern eyes the community seems very imperfect because it only does justice to one man's 'personality,' but the concept of 'personality' depends upon a belief in the value of the individual, and Israel did not reach this till much later (cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 197 ff.). For the early Hebrew both Abraham and his home were perfect (*B. D. S.*, chap. i.).

II

ISRAEL BEFORE THE KINGS

A. The Hebrew Ryot

WHEN Israel entered Canaan she passed from the nomadic to the settled type of primitive life, and became a 'democracy of families.'¹ This means that Israel now consisted of a number of villages, grouped according to their ancestral tribes, and that, while the sense of national unity was by no means extinct—for it not infrequently asserted itself, in more or less complete form, especially at times of invasion—yet the most effective social unit of the time was the village. Its 'elders,' sitting 'in the gate,' were the perpetual organ of its unity. Its women met daily to 'pass the news' and to rejoice or sorrow with each other.² The 'Book of the Covenant,'³ the earliest Hebrew code of laws, is a collection of its rules. The whole records of the period build upon the axiom that the Hebrew villagers shared continuously a common life, and that the Hebrew village was a living unit. The village of Bethlehem, as depicted in the Book of Ruth, is the best single example. The main subject of this chapter is to exhibit the phenomena of property and labour in such a village.

¹ *B. D. S.*, chap. ii.

² *Ruth* i, 19, iv, 14.

³ *Exod.* xxi.-xxiii,

The phenomena, however, depend in part upon another fact. A Hebrew village consisted of a group of Hebrew families, each 'living upon' its ancestral portion of the village land. Each family had its recognized head, and the group of household 'heads' was the group of elders who conducted the simple 'public affairs' of the village. Within each household the 'head' exercised a rather closely limited autocracy. So long as he did not overpass custom he could do as he would, but the bounds of custom in so hardly changing a society were rather strait. In theory, and largely in practice, there was equality between the families. No one 'elder,' as head of a given family, could claim superior 'rank' to another. So the village was a 'democracy of families.' Each family, as it lived on its own land, was in most things 'sufficient unto itself'; the ryot of Israel had the sturdy independence of a yeoman.

A nation's passage from the nomadic or pastoral life to the agricultural has three important consequences for property. These can be traced in the Bible, even though its account of the ideal Patriarchs does not completely tally with actual nomadism. Two of these consequences may be named together. For the wide stretches of tribal land, hitherto held in common,¹ there were now separate plots appropriated to the villages that they surrounded, and a family's

¹ In actual Arabic nomadism each tribe 'has its own pastures, and still more its own waters, beyond which it could not move without risk of hostile encounter. Within these limits families wandered at large with their cattle wherever they could find water and forage. But generally these movements . . . were made by the whole *hayy* together, and no small body felt itself safe to be at a great distance' (Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, p. 41).

cattle, though still essential to its wealth, yielded the first place in the scale of possessions to its land. The first change naturally followed when the 'house' of the ryot displaced the 'tent' of the nomad.¹ As vineyards and oliveyards, for instance, cannot be transported at will like a flock of sheep, a village's possession of the cultivated land about it was permanent and inalienable.² Each village owned its own bit of Canaan. Again, settled life tends to limit the number of cattle, for when a nomad's herds and flocks have eaten one area bare he wanders on to another, but a village's oxen and sheep must live 'year in and year out' on the pasturage near it.³ This limits their number and enhances their individual value.⁴ In consequence food becomes chiefly vegetable, and therefore the cultivation of land more and more necessary. As the amount of it around the village that can conveniently be reached is, of course, limited, its ownership is, in an agricultural community, the first and essential possession of every family.

The change from a roaming to a settled life involves a third consequence. While nomadism

¹ The latter term is not used of Israel in Egypt, where the people lived in fixed structures (Exod. xii. 22), but appears at once in the desert (Exod. xviii. 7, xxxiii. 8, &c.), to disappear again on the settlement in Canaan, except of those who were still nomads (Judges iv. 11, vii. 13, viii. 11), and in an idiom for 'to go home' (Judges vii. 8, xix. 9; 1 Sam. iv. 10, &c.)—an interesting survival.

² Gen. xli. 48; Exod. viii. 13, xxii. 5 f., xxiii. 16; Num. xvi. 14, xx. 17, xxii. 24; Judges ix. 27, xiv. 5, xxi. 21; 1 Sam. vi. 13 f., xi. 5.

³ e.g. Exod. ix. 19, xxii. 31, xxiii. 11, 29; Num. xxii. 23; Judges ix. 32, 42, xix. 16.

⁴ Trans-Jordanic Israel was a partial exception. Here, where villages were few and pastures broad, and where the Hebrew was nearest the desert, they seem to have maintained a semi-nomadism, and the number of their cattle was proverbial (Num. xxxii. 1 ff., 16; Judges v. 16).

discourages the accumulation of goods, since every removal requires their tedious transport, settlement admits their storage. The nomad, even when wealthy, carries comparatively little except the indispensable; the rich villager treasures all. The change that diminishes cattle increases goods. Here, however, there is a complementary fact; the passage from nomadic to agricultural life tends to the distribution of wealth. The wandering tribe admits few owners, or even only one. In a sense all belongs to the sheikh, nor would it always be easy for any small section of a tribe to distinguish its own particular property in the tribal herd.¹ But land admits of easy division, and in a Hebrew village each family 'possessed' its own distinct patrimony, which was never alienated except in direst need.² Again, while no one villager's possessions could match a sheikh's—while Boaz's wealth, for instance, would not equal Abraham's—yet, since the agricultural is usually richer than the pastoral community, the united wealth of a village would often surpass the nomadic tribe's. This division of wealth meant division of responsibility, the head of each house being separately responsible for its property; it also meant, as will presently appear, the opportunity for competition. Here it is to be noted that in an Israelite village the ideal of a number of equal householders, each 'well to do,' was natural. This defines the democracy of families on the

¹ Compare the differences between Jacob and Laban about their several shares in their flocks.

² Ruth iv. For 'Shifting Severalty' see Note 1. There is not sufficient evidence to show what was done with the family land if there were several heirs (cf. Judges xi. 2 f.; Joshua xvii. 3 f. P).

side of property. To illustrate these changes for Israel in detail is hardly necessary, for they underline the whole history. Of longer passages whose presuppositions exhibit them, perhaps the best are two large sections of the 'Book of the Covenant'¹ and the little Book of Ruth. A number of illustrative texts, from different parts of the earliest records, are gathered in the margin.*

Cattle, still the principal movable property, ranked in value next to land.² The chief use of cattle, however, was not to provide flesh to eat, as in modern England, but to serve as 'beasts of burden' and to furnish milk, hair, and wool. Animal food is rarer with the ryot than the nomad.³ Of the five domestic animals named in the first chapter,⁴ the camel was abandoned with the desert,⁵ the ass was always purely a beast for toil, and it is probable that, at least in the time between Joshua and David, the other three—the ox, the sheep, the goat—were rarely killed for food save at sacrificial feasts.⁷

¹ Exod. xxi. 28–xxii. 15, xxiii. 10–33.

² Exod. iii. 8 (and parallels), xxxiv. 21 ff.; Num. xi. 5, xiii. 23, xvi. 14, xx. 17, xxii. 24; Joshua xv. 18, xvii. 4 ff., xix. 49 f., xxiv. 28; Judges ii. 6, 9, vi. 4, 11, viii. 2, ix. 27, xi. 12, xv. 5, xviii. 1, xxi. 20; 1 Sam. i. 24 f.; vi. 13 f., xi. 5. Property in land included, of course, access to water (cf. Joshua xv. 19; Judges v. 11, 16). Cf. pp. 22 f.

³ Exod. ix. 19; Lev. ix. 24 ff., xii. 38, xvii. 3, xx. 10, 17; Num. xvi. 15; Joshua vii. 24, viii. 2, 27; Judges vi. 4, 11, xviii. 21; 1 Sam. i. 24 f. (R.V. marg.), ix. 3. ⁴ Cf. B. D. S., pp. 17 f. ⁵ p. 22.

⁶ The camel is named in this period only in Exod. ix. 3 (Egypt) and Judges vi. 5, vii. 12, viii. 21, 26 (Midian); the horse, named only in Exod. ix. 3, xiv. 9, 23, xv. 1, 19, 21 (Egypt), and Joshua xi. 4, 6, 9 (the Canaanite—cf. Judges iv. 15, v. 28), was still foreign.

⁷ Lev. xvii. 1–9 (H) probably reflects the early custom (cf. Judges xiii. 15 f.; 1 Sam. xiv. 33 ff.), while Deut. xii. 15 illustrates its breaking down. The common love for the delicacy of flesh meat appears in Num. xi. 4, 13, 22; 1 Sam. xiv. 32 (cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites*, pp. 269 ff., 313, &c.). The question whether in the earlier nomadic stage the eating of flesh was always sacrificial is here left on one side. Cf. Driver's note on Exod. xiii. 13, in *Cambridge Bible series*.

In early Israel, as still in the settled East, animals were far too rare and precious to be daily food.

The houses, as always in Palestine, were for the most part of one story and a single room. A house, however, might have a 'store-room'—for this better translates the Hebrew term than 'inner chamber'—big enough to hold several men,¹ and wealthy houses would not only have separate living apartments, but might even have a sleeping-chamber on the flat roof, with a porch of its own.² A list of utensils named in the documents of the period is given in an Additional Note.³ A people's progress in 'comfort' may often be best measured by a consideration of what such a list implies. This one yields some significant results. It shows, for instance, that at this time there was little specialization of callings in Israel.⁴ This is part of the evidence that each family was in the main self-supporting and self-sufficing, its members supplying all its chief wants by their own labour. It follows that those wants were few and simple. There is hardly an article of luxury in the whole list. Again, the list shows that fine art was rare, and that it was connected either with religion, or with the foreigner, or with both. The writer shares the opinion that a largely successful attempt was made at the time to prevent the intrusion of foreign statuary on Hebrew cult.⁵ This would mean that one of the 'fine arts' was little practised. But music and the artistic

¹ Judges xvi. 9.

² Judges iii. 20, 23; cf. Joshua ii. 6.

³ Note 2.

⁴ Cf. Note 6 in *B. D. S.*

⁵ Exod. xxxii.; cf. xx. 4, 23, xxxiv. 17.

treatment of skins, of wood and metal, were associated with worship in the Tabernacle, and no doubt at other shrines. This association held also for literature. Israel's treasured songs were Jehovah's songs, the only books His records. So the prohibition of the image in early Israel, if it be historical, rather limited than prevented the development of art under the impulse of religion, so common in early times. In the people's daily life, however, art and luxury had as yet small part. The wealthy villager was distinguished from his poorer neighbours, not, as in modern and Western lands, by his possession of conveniences, luxuries, and delights that they lacked, but only by his multiplication of common kinds of property. Rich men had more oxen, more sheep, more raiment, more corn, more wives, more children, and more bondservants than their neighbours.¹ Their superiority, so to speak, was rather quantitative than qualitative. In consequence, 'class' distinctions would hardly obtain, for next to the wealthy there would be the scarcely less wealthy, and riches would sink by small gradations to poverty. As at this time—apart from the slave and the 'gēr'²—Israel knew no differences of rank as distinct from wealth,³ it follows that social barriers were low. It is remarkable, too, how few articles there are in the list of utensils that distinguish villagers from nomads. There is hardly an implement named in the Book of Judges, for example, that might not have

¹ No doubt very poor houses altogether lacked bondmen. If the system of 'shifting severalty' obtained in Israel, Hebrew families were all equal in respect of land (Note 1).

² Chap. II. E.

³ B. D. S., pp. 37, 360 ff., 366 ff.

belonged to a Patriarch. Progress on the material side of civilization was slow.

All this may be summed in one word—the era of commerce had not yet come. For commerce introduces articles of refinement and luxury to simple races, and they become marks of wealth. As the demand for them grows the foreign artisan not only sends his products to the new market, but goes to live near it himself, sometimes in the end to teach his specialized calling to native workmen, through whom it becomes indigenous. Then there follows the stage in which it tends to become the rule that each family produces only that one thing, or those few things, for which it has special skill. Artificers, for instance, produce utensils, but do not till land. They need to purchase their food from others, and a class of grain-sellers arises to meet this demand. So with commerce society becomes complex and its members interdependent, and the distinctive mark of the commercial era, as contrasted with the agricultural, soon appears. There emerges within the nation a merchant class,—that is, a set of men who buy goods, not to keep, but to sell again. Then trade begins to compete with agriculture as the mark of the period, and all the intricate social questions of the morality of exchange call for answer. These questions arose in Israel in the next period, but as yet differentiation of callings had proceeded but a little way among the Hebrews. So far as it occurred, this, too, was in connexion with religion.¹ As for commerce, throughout this period it was regarded

¹ Additional Note 3.

as an enterprise proper to foreigners.¹ Men who use 'inheritance' as equivalent to 'possession' hold the opinion that property is a thing to keep, not to trade with. While money is not infrequently named,² its chief uses were for payment of hire and as a means of simple agricultural exchange.³ Apart from occasional bargain or bribe⁴ there is no instance of any one's 'business' being to 'make money.' The villager thought of his possessions as permanent, and looked for prosperity to his land. Under these conditions a Hebrew farmer might become wealthy, but the overtopping riches of a commercial 'magnate' were impossible. The day of plutocracy was not yet. The new facts about property were consonant with a democracy of families.

In this democracy four kinds of ownership were possible—national, communal, family, personal. The term 'communal' is here used to denote property belonging to the village community. All four kinds naturally obtained in Israel, and all were regarded as legitimate. The great instance of national property was the land of Canaan. Examples of communal or village property may be found in the water of the common well and the common pasture.

¹ At a much later period the word for 'merchant' was still 'Canaanite' (cf. Exod. xxi. 8, and *B. D. S.*, p. 120). The Hebrew term for 'trade' (תִּשְׁכָּר) does not occur in the documents of this period.

² e.g. Num. xvi. 14; Joshua xviii. 2; Judges ii. 6, xviii. 1; Ruth iv. 6, 10.

³ e.g. Exod. ii. 9; Judges xvii. 10, xviii. 4; cf. 1 Sam. ix. 7 f.; Num. xxiv. 13.

⁴ This is best seen from the implications of the 'Book of the Covenant'; e.g. Exod. xxi. 32, xxii. 4, 16 (contrast vv. 1, 5), 15, 25.

⁵ e.g. Exod. xxiii. 8; Judges ix. 4, xvi. 5, 18.

The family property or 'inheritance' included the homestead and its arable land,¹ its vineyard and olive-yard, its cattle and its bondmen. As in the Patriarchal story, these were largely under the control of the head of the house, but he was still rather the family's trustee for them than their owner. Personal property still consisted chiefly in clothing and food, and sometimes in jewels.² Each kind of ownership, therefore, had its natural and proper place in the social organism. It is everywhere taken for granted that all four kinds of property were legitimate. Indeed, this postulate is universal in the documents of the Old Testament. In the Decalogue the Hebrew was forbidden even to want another's property.³

B. The Sacrament of Property

But in the early Hebrew theory of property there was also another element. It traced all four kinds of ownership directly to the gift of God. So far Israel was like other early nations, yet already she gave this doctrine a wider sweep than is sometimes supposed. While it is not set forth systematically, it is everywhere implied, and not a few of its details are clear.

It is a mistake to treat Jehovah in this period merely as a local God. No doubt some passages imply this, but logical consistency is often lacking in early thought, and there is considerable evidence

¹ If the system of 'shifting severalty' obtained at all in Israel, a case of the combination of communal and family ownership appears (Note 1).

² Cf. pp. 29 f. Exod. xxi. 10 distinguishes a wife's personal property as 'her food, her raiment, and her duty of marriage' (cf. Exod. xxii. 26; Judges xiv. 12, xvii. 10; 1 Sam. ii. 19).

³ Exod. xx. 17

on the other side. The wider concept, already traceable in the Patriarchal story,¹ persisted. The postulate 'All the earth is Mine,' expressed in one passage,² underlies all. There were other gods, but Jehovah was above them³; the deliverance from Egypt, the overthrow of Og and Sihon, the conquest of Canaan, all showed that He could do as He liked with this or that country.⁴ Even when the Philistines carried the Ark into their own land He defended it⁵; He distributed the earth to the nations⁶; He was the giver of water,⁷ of food,⁸ of children⁹; He sent or withheld disease¹⁰; He 'formed' man¹¹; He could create a nation at will¹² or destroy a single family¹³; He was 'God of battles'¹⁴; He had a duty to the 'righteous' even among heathen nations.¹⁵ There is here the practical application, though not the theoretical statement, of the doctrine of an almighty providence.¹⁶ In childhood, whether of nations or individuals, practice usually anticipates theory.

It was the delight of Israel to think that she was chosen to be *the* 'people' of such a God.¹⁷ While her every possession was His gift, the

¹ pp. 23 f.

² Exod. xix. 5; cf. ix. 29.

³ Exod. xviii. 11; 1 Sam. v. 1 ff., vi. 5.

⁴ Exod. iii. 10 ff., 20, viii. 10, 22, ix. 16, x. 2, xv. 1-21.

⁵ 1 Sam. v. and vi.

⁶ Num. xxi. 34, xxiv. 15 ff.; Joshua xxiv. 4, 12.

⁷ Exod. xv. 25, xvii. 6, xxiii. 25; Num. xxi. 16.

⁸ Exod. xvi. 4 f., xxiii. 25; Num. xi. 18.

⁹ Judges xiii. 2 ff.; 1 Sam. i. 5, 19, ii. 21.

¹⁰ Exod. xv. 26, xxiii. 25; 1 Sam. v. 6 ff.

¹¹ Exod. iv. 11.

¹² Exod. xxxii. 9 ff.

¹³ 1 Sam. ii. 25.

¹⁴ Joshua v. 14; Judges vii. 2 ff., &c.

¹⁵ Gen. xviii. 25, xx. 4.

¹⁶ Cf. Ruth i. 13, 20.

¹⁷ Exod. xv. 1 ff., xix. 5, xxxii. 13, xxxiii. 16; Num. xxiii. 23; Deut. xxxiii. 2 ff., 26 ff.; Joshua xxiv. 2 ff.; 1 Sam. x. 1.

characteristic possession of the period, land, was in particular thought of as the Lord's characteristic blessing.¹ It was He who gave the whole people the choice land of Canaan,² He who set each tribe in its lot,³ He who appointed each family its 'inheritance,'⁴ He who gave every Israelite his home.⁵ As in the Patriarchal story, property was providential.

God's gift of possessions, however, was not unconditional. He still retained a right in them. Israel enjoyed Canaan itself only on condition of obedience. Indeed, the Hebrew held himself to be not so much absolute owner of his property as partner in it with God. This may here be drawn out particularly in three doctrines—of covenant, of spoil, of sacrifice. A fourth is reserved for the next section.

Under the word 'covenant' there falls all the history of Jehovah's iterated promises, warnings, and condemnations, and beneath every one of these there lies the notion of mutual responsibility. For instance, one of the two early accounts of the formal covenant of Jehovah with Israel reaches its climax in the verses, 'Ye shall serve the Lord your God, and He shall bless thy bread and thy water; and I will take sickness away from the midst of thee. There shall none cast her young, nor be barren, in thy land; the number of thy days I will fulfil.'⁶ Indeed,

¹ The Deuteronomic Decalogue names it specifically in the tenth commandment.

² Exod. iii. 8, 17, xiii. 3 ff., xv. 17, xx. 12, xxiii. 20 ff., xxxiv. 10 ff.; Num. xiv. 8 f.; Deut. xxxiv. 2 ff.; Joshua ii. 9, iii. 10 ff., vi. 2; Judges ii. 1.

³ Joshua xviii. 6, 10; Judges i. 4, 19, 22, xviii. 5, 10.

⁴ Exod. xx. 12.

⁵ Ruth iv.; cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 34 ff.

⁶ Exod. xxiii. 25 f.

the very notion of 'covenant' is partnership,¹ and the whole story of the wilderness is an account of Israel's education to share with Jehovah in the ownership of 'a land flowing with milk and honey.' In other words, the doctrine of partnership—the mutual responsibility of Jehovah and Israel—issued practically in the doctrine of obedience—the responsibility of Israel to Jehovah—for Jehovah never failed on His side. It is often pointed out as a distinction of the Deuteronomist that he insists on the connexion of prosperity with obedience, but, while he gave this peculiar emphasis, the doctrine was no new one in Israel. Rather, the Hebrews inherited the notion on which it bases—that of the mutual responsibility of a god and his people—from 'ethnic' religion. Joshua's final expostulation with His nation² may or may not be the historian's compilation, but it accurately sums up Jehovah's dealings with Israel, and it issues in *their* promise: 'The Lord our God will we serve, and unto His voice will we hearken.' The greater partner's undertaking, on the other hand, may be defined from an earlier passage: 'If ye will obey My voice indeed, and keep My covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me from among all peoples; for all the earth is Mine; and ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.'³ The term 'peculiar treasure' (סֶגֶל), here first used, was, until Israel's latest Old Testament era, a technical description of Jehovah's relation to Israel; she was the Lord's *peculium* in the original meaning of

¹ Cf. Exod. xxiv. 7, xxxiv. 9; Num. xiv. 8 f.; Judges ii. 1 ff.

² Joshua xxiv.

³ Exod. xix. 5 f.

the Latin term.¹ Yet to remain His *peculium* she must do His will.

The theory of spoil supports that of covenant. While the plunder of Canaan fell to the Israelites, its spoil, like its land, was regarded as the gift of Jehovah,² and He might at any time and to any extent retain it. The people were then to 'devote' or 'ban' it.³ Even in the Revised Version this Hebrew term is often translated 'utterly destroy,'⁴ yet destruction was not at all the ancient idea. A careful reading of the sixth chapter of Joshua will show this. To the Hebrew Joshua's 'destruction' of Jericho and everything in it was not at all destruction, but sacrifice. The burning city was as little waste as a burning heifer on the altar of a sanctuary. It passed into God's possession as much as 'the silver and the gold and the vessels of brass and iron' which the same story dedicates to 'the treasury of the house of the Lord.'⁵ The terrible fate of Achan in the sequel was a vindication of the rights of God.⁶ He had robbed the Lord. Further, the exact notion was not that the Israelites had given the spoil of Jericho to Jehovah, but that He

¹ *Peculium* was used of the property that was left within a slave or child's own control. To the slave or child it was very precious. The Hebrew term is twice used of the personal treasure of a King, as distinct from the national revenue that he controlled (1 Chron. xxix. 3; Eccles. ii. 8). Israel was Jehovah's 'peculiar treasure,' as the R.V. translates the term (e.g. Exod. xix. 5; Deut. vii. 6; Mal. iii. 17). The New Testament transfers the word, in its Greek translation, to the new 'Israel' (e.g. Titus ii. 14; 1 Pet. ii. 9).

² e.g. Exod. xii. 36; Joshua viii. 2.

³ חָרַם. See *B. D. S.*, 'Herem,' in Index of Subjects.

⁴ The truth is that, as the English people have not the idea, neither have they a word for it.

⁵ Cf. Kautzsch, in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, Addl. Vol., p. 619.

⁶ Joshua vii.

there retained what was His own, while He yielded the spoil of the cities subsequently sacked to them.¹ Hebrew prosperity was not to be secured in any fashion but according to the mind of God.² The Israelite was not permitted merely to clutch; for him as for other tribes the religious 'herem' meant restraint, and the nation that gradually learnt the morality of religion was gradually to learn with it moral method in restraint.

The discussion of spoil has introduced that of sacrifice. The actual origin of sacrifice is not here in question, but the significance attached to it in Israel before the Kings. At that time this was already complex, and within the complex there were two notions pertinent to the present subject—those of gift to God and of fellowship with Him. The ordinances of the annual feasts illustrate this,³ as do the incidental descriptions of Elkanah's family feast at Shiloh and Samuel's celebration of a village 'sacrifice' at its 'high place.'⁴ In each there was the giving of gifts to God, and in each it is implied that Jehovah shared in the merry feast.⁵ Both ideas illustrate the Lord's right in His people's possessions. Indeed, the word 'gift' is not strictly accurate, for the people's offerings to God were always represented as a recognition of His boons to them, as the references given will show. The

¹ Joshua viii. 2.

² Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 31.

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⁵ The story of Hophni and Phinehas is a good illustration (1 Sam. ii. 12 ff.). By their time the 'burning of the fat' had come to stand for the god's share in the meal. Their sin was not that they took a share, for this was the priest's perquisite, nor altogether that they took more than was their right, but that they took it before God got His share—before the fat was burned.

Passover, for instance, expressly recognized His deliverance of Israel from Egypt and the Feast of Firstfruits His gift of harvest.¹ Israel was continually under obligation for its possessions to its God. For it, as for the Patriarchs, property was sacramental.

From this religious concept social consequences already flowed. While the alien or enemy had no rights because he was not in covenant with Jehovah,² the members of the Hebrew community all had rights because they were in His covenant. The root of respect for a neighbour's rights lies here. It is evident that as soon as a tribe split into a multitude of families, or one tribe enlarged into several, competition might emerge, one family seeking to oust another or one tribe to dispossess its neighbour. Religion discouraged this kind of competition, for the neighbouring family or the other tribe held its possession by the favour and protection of the common God. There is no instance in early Israel of one Hebrew tribe's seeking to dispossess another. The straitened Danites, on the contrary, pursued a long 'trek' as far as Laish³ because their new 'inheritance' must not impinge upon a brother tribe's. A common religion defended a neighbour's rights and prevented the elevation of selfishness into the one principle of life. Other illustrations of this idea will appear later.

The reader will begin to suspect that, as Jehovah was a partner in every Hebrew's property, no Israelite could 'do as he liked with

¹ Exod. xii. 25, xiii. 3 ff., 11 ff., xxxiv. 22.

² Cf. B. D. S., p. 82.

³ Judges xviii.

his own.' Indeed it was not 'his own,' but at most 'his own and God's,' if it were not altogether God's. God, however, was not the only intruder upon any 'absolute' possession of property. The four kinds of property—national, communal, family, personal—for the most part did not obtain in respect of different possessions, but of the same. The leading illustration, again, is land. In one sense a given plot belonged to the nation, for it was included in the land of Israel; in a second the same plot belonged to the village community, for the 'fields' about a village were its livelihood; in a third it belonged to the particular family whose 'inheritance' it was; in a fourth to the head of that family, since, for example, he controlled its harvest. And all this was ordinance of Jehovah. So that ownership and property, in Israel as in other races, were not simple but complicated things. Property was a joint possession, the partners being Jehovah, Israel, a single family. And within the family its several members were partners too.¹

In this combined ownership each partner had at once responsibilities and rights. The people, if obedient, had a right to Jehovah's covenant blessings, He to their service and gifts. All Israel must defend a single village's land; every village ought to send its contingent for national defence; every family might use the common village well to water its vineyard, but must leave its land fallow for the village poor.² This inter-related right and duty formed the subject of many early Hebrew laws and customs. They

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² Chap. II. C.

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¹ pp. 25 ff.

² Chap. II. C.

were just a network of precedent for the limitation of human ownership of every kind. And they were all the laws of the Lord. The Bible nowhere thinks of any human ownership as absolute. Already in Old Testament thought only Jehovah could do wholly as He liked with any single thing.

C. '*The Protector of the Poor*'

Jehovah's right to control property may be drawn out in a fourth particular instance.¹ One of the characteristic social ideas of this period was that of responsibility for one's neighbour.² This idea was applied to property. One Hebrew was held in some degree responsible for other Hebrews' livelihood. In other words, there was already recognized a duty to the poor. The poor play no large part in any ancient history, and, apart from the Book of Ruth, they are not named at all in the early Hebrew narratives.³ Yet of course there must have been poor in Israel, and the first law-book, the '*Book of the Covenant*,'⁴ as distinct from the narratives, recognizes them. Its statutes are not arranged in any clear way, but those that relate to the poor, when collected, illustrate two principles. Of these one is negative—'*Thou shalt not take advantage of a neighbour's weakness or poverty*'; the other positive—'*Thou shalt provide for a poor neighbour his living.*' The application of

¹ Cf. p. 50.

² See *B. D. S.*, pp. 42–53, where other applications are examined.

³ Gideon's protest and Saul's are not to be taken literally, as their context shows (Judges vi. 15, 26 f.; 1 Sam. ix. 1, 21).

⁴ Exod. xxi.–xxiii.

these principles, even to the simple social problems of a Hebrew village, was not complete; yet here, as elsewhere in early Hebrew sociology, a serious attempt was made to apply on a national scale the principles of family life.

The negative principle stated above has several illustrations. The Eastern judge’s agelong sin of siding in judgement with the bribing rich is stigmatized by the vengeance of God.¹ Side by side with this there may be put a broader command—‘Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child.’² Again, the taking of usury from a poor fellow countryman is altogether forbidden, and the retaining of his pledged garment after sunset.³ The last prohibitions imply several facts about poverty. That plague of the East, the merciless money-lender, lies behind the first. The second suggests that a poor man had only one cloak,⁴ that during the day’s hot task this was the one of his few possessions that he could most easily spare, and that therefore it was a frequent ‘pledge’ for a loan. When night came, however, as it was the poor man’s only blanket, it was to be returned to him. The implication seems to be that, so long as the loan lasted, the pledged garment was to be

¹ Exod. xxiii. 6 ff. A complementary command—‘Thou shalt not favour a poor man in his cause’—surprises. But these laws were not only for judges, but for ordinary Hebrews, and the command ‘Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil,’ has immediately preceded. The case, therefore, is that of the popular poor man against the envied rich, and one can easily imagine the people of a village turning into a mob and pouring down to the ‘gate’ to coerce the elders to decide for their favourite. This would be specially likely in the democratic and kingless villages of Israel. Cf. Judges vi. 28 ff.

² Exod. xxii. 22.

³ Exod. xxii. 25–27.

⁴ מִצְנֵה, the square outer garment.

fetched and carried night and morning. This would be possible in the little Hebrew villages,¹ but it much reduced the inducement to the debtor quickly to repay the loan. In other words, law took the side of the poor, and forbade the rigour of competition between fellow Israelites.

Again, utter want might drive an Israelite to sell himself, his wife, his family, into bondage.² In this way he might escape starvation and even find comparative ease. The law, therefore, did not forbid the poor man's last hard remedy, but it provided mitigations of his servile lot. He was a brother Israelite who had once been free, and after seven years³ he was to have the option of freedom both for himself, and, if his wife too had once been free, for her as well. Again, if he had relieved the family poverty by selling his daughter into bondage,⁴ her new master must make her his own or his son's wife; he must not sell her to an alien whom these laws would not bind; and, if at any time he wanted to get rid of her, and there were no one able to redeem her, he must set her free. These laws are not to be summarily called impracticable,⁵ though even so they would imply that ideally liberty was every Israelite's birthright, while any attempt to practise them, whether partial or not, mitigated the lot of the driven poor.

¹ Cf. Deut. xxiv. 10-13.

² Exod. xxi. 2 ff., 7 ff.

³ That the Sabbatical institutions as a whole were 'humanitarian' is shown by Driver (*Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, 'Sabbath').

⁴ Exod. xxi. 7 ff.; cf. Neh. v. 5; Finlay, speaking of the eleventh century of our era, remarks that in a time of pestilence and famine 'many of the inhabitants of Asia Minor' sold their children as slaves 'to save the lives of both parties' (*History of the Byzantine Empire*, Book II., chap. iii.).

⁵ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 36, footnote 2.

The evidence for the positive principle—‘ Thou shalt provide for a poor neighbour his living ’—is the law of the Sabbatical Year¹ and the Book of Ruth. By the former all cultivated land, whether field, vineyard, or oliveyard, was to lie fallow one year in seven, and its natural crop was to go ungarnered, ‘ that the poor of thy people may eat.’ What is meant probably is not that *all* land was to lie fallow in the *same* year, but that some fields were to ‘ keep Sabbath ’ in one year, others in the next, and so on, so that the poor would always have somewhere to gather.² None was to starve. But this was only the meagre minimum. Law can usually effect a negative, but it has always to be beggarly in its positives, and good men always exceed them. The foreman of such a one as Boaz suffered a poor woman to glean behind the reapers,³ while Boaz’ own overflowing kindness even to a destitute Moabitess⁴ portrays the Israelite ideal in the treatment of the poor.⁵

The motive of these several duties is nowhere left uncertain. The emphasis lies not so much on the common blood of Israel, as on its common God. The false judge, the false witness, the oppressor of the widow or the orphan, alike fall under the threat of the Lord ; ‘ I will not justify the wicked ’ ; ‘ I will kill *you* with the sword.’⁶

¹ Exod. xxiii. 10 ff. In Palestine land still lies fallow one year in seven (Hastings’ *Bible Dictionary*, iv., p. 325).

² In Maccabaeian times, however (1 Macc. vi. 53), and perhaps earlier (Lev. xxv. 20 ff.), one year was universally fallow. There may have been a change in custom on this point (cf. p. 121, footnote 9).

³ Ruth ii. 2.

⁴ Ruth ii. 8 f., 15 ff., 21.

⁵ His kindness, of course, *before* she had made or he admitted her claim to be a kinswoman (Ruth ii. 20, iii. 2 ff.).

⁶ Exod. xxiii. 7, xxii. 24.

Similarly, Boaz accompanies his welcome of Ruth with this sweet blessing : ' The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord *under whose wings thou art come to take refuge.*'¹ The phrase does no more than expand the implication of the law. In Israel to be needy was not taken as a token of God's desertion ; the Lord gave wealth, but He was also ' the protector of the poor.' His care laid responsibility for the needy upon the prosperous. To succour a poor neighbour was no ' work of super-erogation,' but a duty, and a duty to God.

D. The Property of Others

So far much has been said of a man's use of his own property, little of his relation to that of others. In an agricultural age, as contrasted with a commercial one, the latter relation comes comparatively little into view, for in such ages the principal source of possessions is the soil and not bargain. Yet in no society can the problem of a man's relation to others' goods be altogether avoided. It has two natural divisions. A man may seek to acquire property from another either against his will or with it. Historically the former acquisition has its typical form in theft, the latter in exchange.

The admission of the lawfulness of private property cannot, of course, be confined to a man's own possessions. It requires that he allow another's right to property as well as his own, and so that he condemn theft. The wrong of this crime is everywhere assumed in the early

¹ Ruth ii. 12.

Bible records, though its actual instances are few.¹ The Patriarchal narrative contains two traces of the ancient infliction of capital punishment for it,² but this the 'Book of the Covenant' restricts to the man-stealer,³ whose crime again it rightly includes, not with those against property, but against persons. Yet it has a section about property,⁴ and this, though it lacks arrangement, graduates penalties. It counts as 'justifiable homicide' the slaying of a thief taken red-handed and at night⁵; other outright theft carried at least a twofold restitution, and if the thief could not pay he might be sold⁶; negligence to the hurt of another's property was met by simple restitution⁷; for accidental damage no penalty lay.⁸ These rules were comparatively lenient for ancient times.⁹

What, however, of the other side of a man's relation to his neighbour's property—exchange? What, in particular, of such faults as are now included under 'cunning,' 'craft,' 'shrewdness'? Law can rarely touch these, but usually custom has rules about them that discern between the honourable, the legitimate, and the disreputable. Is there any hint of such rules in early Israel? Or was competition allowed full play in a man's dealings with his fellows so long as he did not steal outright? The answer for the non-commercial age of Israel is to be gathered almost altogether from the implications of three of the

¹ Gen. xxxi. 19; Joshua vii. 11; Judges xvii. 2, xviii. 17; cf. Gen. xlv. 8 f. ² Gen. xxxi. 32, xlv. 8 f. ³ Exod. xxi. 16.

⁴ Exod. xxi. 33–xxii. 17.

⁵ Exod. xxii. 2 f.

⁶ Exod. xxii. 1–9.

⁷ Exod. xxi. 32–36, xxii. 5, 6, 12, 14.

⁸ Exod. xxi. 35, xxii. 10 f., 13.

⁹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 62, and *The Bible Doctrine of Womanhood*, Additional Note on 'Capital Punishment.'

Patriarchal stories¹—those of Jacob and Esau, of Jacob and Laban, of Joseph and his brethren. Their discussion is included here rather than in the previous chapter because they illustrate rather the common use of pre-Monarchic Israel than the Patriarchal Ideal.²

In discussing these stories a helpful method of approach is to scrutinize terms, for as the standard of dealing in such transactions alters, the implication of terms changes. For instance, a concordance shows that at the time when King James' Version was made the English term 'cunning' still always connoted respectable skill, but that 'craft' had already sometimes a bad sense. Apart from 'steal,' which of course had a bad meaning, the pertinent terms are 'subtil,' 'deceive,' 'supplant,' 'mock.'³ The first, 'subtil,' occurs in Genesis only of the Serpent in Eden,⁴ but its use in Proverbs⁵ shows that much later it was held of praiseworthy or at least of non-moral implication. Of the other terms two—'supplant' and 'mock'—are rare. Each occurs once only in Genesis, both of Jacob's 'taking away' of Esau's 'blessing.'⁶ When used in later documents they have always a bad meaning⁷; had they this as early as the period of the Patriarchal narrative? It would seem so, for,

¹ Cf., however, pp. 57 f., 62 ff.

² *B. D. S.*, p. 16.

³ עָרַם, חָשַׁב, וְעָרַם, and their derivatives.

⁴ Gen. iii. 1.

⁵ e.g. Prov. i. 4. See *B. D. S.*, *sub voce*, for other instances.

⁶ Gen. xxvii. 12, 36. עָרַם occurs also once else (xxv. 26), but in the literal sense of to 'take by the heel' or 'follow at the heel of.' מְרַמֵּס (xxvii. 12) is translated 'deceiver' in the English versions, but the few other occurrences of the root (2 Chron. xxxvi. 16; Jer. x. 15, li. 18) show that the Revisers' margin, 'mockers,' is right.

⁷ e.g. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16; Jer. ix. 4.

though the English versions use other translations, the context describes the same act by the fourth term, 'deceive,'¹ and of its bad sense there is no doubt. It is the common Hebrew word for cheating, and quite unambiguous. The three terms 'supplant,' 'mock,' 'deceive,' therefore, had all already an evil connotation, and their uses show that the morality of the time already condemned both Jacob's deception of Isaac and the methods of his competition with Esau. 'Thy brother came with *deceit*,' said Isaac'; 'He hath *supplanted* me these two times,' said Esau'; 'I shall seem to my father,' said Jacob, 'as a *mock*er, and I shall bring a curse upon me.'⁴ Esau's phrase, 'these two times,' implies the condemnation also of the earlier instance of Jacob's cunning—when he was busy filching, not the 'blessing,' but the 'birthright.'⁵ It was held wrong to do as Jacob did to a father or brother. Whether it was held wrong so to deal with one outside the home is another question.

The word 'steal' itself, though it would seem the suitable word, especially for Esau's lips,⁶ is not used of these acts of Jacob. All its instances in Genesis fall in the two episodes of Laban and of Joseph's brethren.⁷ Just at the same point, in significant juxtaposition, there emerges also the common use of the words 'wages' and 'hire.'⁸ Apart from a metaphor⁹

¹ Gen. xxvii. 35; cf. xxxi. 7.

² Gen. xxvii. 35.

³ Gen. xxvii. 36.

⁴ Gen. xxvii. 12.

⁵ Jacob, therefore, is not yet here the ideal man. See *B. D. S.*, p. 6.

⁶ e.g. Gen. xxvii. 36.

⁷ Gen. xxx. 33, xxxi. 19-39, xl. 15, xliv. 8.

⁸ Of one Hebrew root—שָׂכַר.

⁹ Gen. xv. 1.

and the account of the birth of Issachar,¹ they occur only in the story of Jacob's bargains with Laban.² This furnishes the first detailed instance of dealings between two men who do not belong to the same home, for the relation between Laban and Jacob was that between 'master' and 'hireling,' and the 'hireling,' as will appear later,³ while he stood in close relation to his master's home, was still outside it. The story is an early study in 'wages' and 'paid service.' It presents, therefore, one of the typical relations in competition. What standard of behaviour does it reveal?

The story shares in the assumption, universal until the nineteenth century, that the master had 'the upper hand'; Jacob came to Laban a wayfarer, abode with him a dependant, left him a fugitive. It is all but taken for granted, too, that the master would try to outdo the hireling. This was Laban's constant attitude to Jacob. He 'beguiled' him in his marriage with Leah, and 'deceived' him in his 'wages';⁴ it was not the master's fault that he did not at the end send the hireling away 'empty.'⁵ Yet, though these things are almost taken for granted, the damnatory term 'deceive' is there; Hebrew thought reckoned Laban's behaviour wrong, though usual.

It is also all but assumed, on the other hand, that usually a hireling would cheat his master if he could. The whole tone of Jacob's bargain

¹ Gen. xxx. 16, 18.

² Gen. xxix. 15, xxx. 28, 32 f., xxxi. 7 f., 41.

³ pp. 72 ff.

⁴ Gen. xxix. 25, xxxi. 7. The verb in both texts is *נִמְךָ*, 'cheat.'

⁵ Gen. xxxi. 42.

with Laban implies this.¹ Yet the story condemns this practice, too, for it makes it a chief point in Jacob's 'righteousness' that he not only dealt fairly by his master, but served him 'with all (his) power.'² This is the first hint of a social content of 'righteousness.' The whole meaning of the story for the Hebrew lay just here—that, although Laban seemed to have the 'righteous' Jacob in his clutch, God prevented his doing his hireling wrong. This the narrative explicitly states again and again,³ while its close tells how the Lord intervened directly to forbid the powerful sheikh to wreak his vengeance on the runaway Jacob.⁴ The story is a vindication of providence; it shows God outwitting the rascal and prospering the 'righteous.'⁵ Early Israel believed not only that theft was wrong, but that it was wrong, though usual, to oppress a hireling or to cheat a master; its code of conduct set some limit to competition.

But a moot question still remains—at what point did a master's proper authority pass into oppression, a servant's justifiable cunning into cheating? Where was the limit set to competition? Only for the servant's conduct is there exact evidence. There are two accounts of the way in which Jacob's flocks prospered at the expense of Laban's, the one ascribing this to God, the other to Jacob's superior knowledge

¹ e.g. Gen. xxx. 33, xxxi. 38 ff.

² Gen. xxx. 33.

³ Gen. xxxi. 6; cf. xxx. 29, xxxi. 38 ff.

⁴ Gen. xxxi. 5, 7, 9, 10 ff., 16, 42.

⁵ Gen. xxxi. 24, 29, 42.

⁶ It is worth noting that Jacob held a double relation to Laban—as son-in-law and hireling—and that in all societies a double relation is frequent ground of strife.

of sheep.¹ The juxtaposition of the two, as well as the tone of the whole narrative, shows that here Jacob did not transgress what the time counted allowable. Opinion justified his 'straking' of the cunning 'rods' in the 'gutters of the flock'! 'So the feebler were Laban's and the stronger Jacob's.' 'So'! It follows that at this stage the principle that it is wrong to take advantage of another's ignorance was not applied 'all round.' It had some applications to a fellow villager,² but it did not always apply between a hireling and his master. To modern eyes Jacob seems as bad as Laban, but not to ancient. Jacob busy in the 'gutters' was still righteous. He had not crossed the limit set to equity in current thought. Rather the old writer admires his wise craft. Here was large scope for the evolution of righteousness. There was a standard of morality, but, while it condemned Jacob's deceit of his father and brother, it justified his trickery of Laban. The term 'wages' emerges in sinister connexion with 'cunning.' In dealing with a master there was a lower standard of behaviour than in dealing with a father or brother.

The story of Joseph and his brethren introduces detailed dealings with those who were more completely 'outsiders' than masters or hirelings. In it, apart from the 'Priestly' document,³ there occurs for the first time definite commercial exchange, as distinct from hire.⁴

¹ Gen. xxxi. 8 ff., xxx. 37 ff. The question whether the colour of sheep could be affected by Jacob's device need not be discussed here. It is enough that those who repeated the story, believed in his success.

² Gen. xxx. 42.

³ pp. 57 ff.

⁴ Gen. xxiii.

⁵ Gen. xxxvii. 27 ff., xlii. 2, xlvii. 13 ff., &c.

The instances are all with the alien—Joseph's brethren selling him to the Bedawin, Israel trafficking for corn with Egypt, Joseph 'buying up' the Egyptians for Pharaoh. Words of trade, too, as 'buy,' 'sell,' 'traffic,' now become frequent¹; just as naturally as this form of intercourse was wanting within the family, so naturally it obtained with those outside it. Does this narrative, too, bear out the suggestion that early Israel had more than one standard of right behaviour in relation to other men's property?

In the account of the commerce of the Hebrew family with Egypt, summed in the one word 'to buy corn,' there is a suggestion that it was usual to drive as hard a bargain as possible.² This suggestion becomes assertion in the account of Joseph's dealings with the starving people of Egypt.³ His bounty to his brethren, told in the same chapter, only enhances the rigour of his exaction from those who had a better right to Egyptian bounty than they. He took advantage of the people's bitter need to wrench from them first money, then cattle, last their lands and themselves! The narrative undoubtedly presents this, not only as permissible, but as statesmanship! It would seem that with one who was neither brother nor hireling nor

¹Apart from the passing reference to Jacob's purchase of land at Shechem (Gen. xxxiii. 19), the Hebrew word for 'buy' (קנה) does not occur in this one of its senses till the story of Joseph. The same is true of 'trade' or 'traffic' (סחר), and, apart from Esau's 'selling' his 'birthright' for pottage (Gen. xxv. 31 ff.), of 'sell' (מכר). A peculiar term for 'to buy grain' (שטר) also now appears. It is remarkable that Hebrew has no word whose primary meaning is 'buy.'

²e.g. Gen. xlii. 6, 17, xliii. 11 ff.

³Gen. xlvii. 13-27.

fellow villager, anything was allowable short of theft. There is no doubt that for an early Hebrew the story of Joseph's oppression gained its gusto from the fact that Joseph oppressed an alien and a foe, the Egyptian. It is right to couple such bargain with war.

There was, then, in early Israel a graduated standard of behaviour in exchange. The 'other party's' rights depended upon the nearness of the two 'parties' relation. Dealings that were wrong with a brother, as Esau, were justifiable with a master, as Laban; dealings that were unjustifiable with a fellow villager¹ might yet be right with an alien, who was still more an 'outsider.' It is impossible exactly to define any of these three standards, but it seems clear that there were three, or rather, perhaps, that the Hebrew held a variable standard, strictest with a brother, laxest with an alien.' In reality there was a still lower standard, for an enemy, as distinct from other aliens, had no rights in property at all. Against him there could be no theft. It was as lawful to take his goods as his life or wife. The custom of spoil embodied this idea.' Further, it was justifiable to steal from a foe even outside actual battle, for at the Exodus it was Jehovah's 'crowning mercy' that Israel succeeded in 'spoiling the Egyptians.'² A foe had no rights; a friendly alien was protected against theft; competition

¹ pp. 57 ff.

² There is explicit recognition of this variability in Gen. xxxi. 15, where it is assumed that a father who 'devoured' his daughters' 'money' thereby treated them like 'strangers.'

³ e.g. Joshua viii. 2; Judges v. 30, viii. 24.

⁴ Exod. iii. 22, xi. 2, xii. 36.

began to be mitigated against the hireling and the neighbour; its rigour ought not to be used at all against a brother. Already the unwritten rule ran, 'Thou shalt love thy brother as thyself.' To those who are new to the study of social problems the idea of a variable standard of behaviour may seem strange and clearly vicious. Yet historically it has never yet been possible to treat every one according to one standard. No man has ever yet been able always to treat a brother, a neighbour, an alien, and an enemy, exactly alike. So far the variety of relationship, apart altogether from a man's own wishes, has made this impossible. Here Israel's history is typical of mankind's. The story of progress tells how in the realm of property lower standards are slowly abandoned and the range of higher enlarged. This evolution is proceeding still. Some day, even in bargain, there will come the universal practice of the creed, 'All men are *brethren*.'

E. The Village 'Labour Problem'

In the preceding chapter it was found that leisure was an element in 'the Early Ideal' in the sense that the ideal man of Hebrew thought could do as he liked. It was found, further, that in nomadic life this meant primarily that the ideal man escaped the 'fag of the field.' The passage from the nomadic to the agricultural life, however, inevitably involved the multiplication of this kind of work, for land can only be the basis of wealth if it be tilled. A certain

question follows. Was toil still excluded from the current idea of what a man ought to do, or did there now appear an admiration for what is to-day called the 'dignity of work'? Did toil lose its shame?

There can be no doubt that to the tending of flocks and herds, still thought honourable, as in Patriarchal days,¹ freemen now sometimes added other tasks. For instance, Saul 'followed the plough,'² and under stress of alien havoc Gideon even threshed corn.³ Yet the dislike of task-work still remained, and leisure was still counted the proper condition of a true man. One token of this was the persistence of bondservice, for its *raison d'être* has always been the freeman's dislike of toil. There is a second token in the bitterness of the Hebrews' recollection of their task-work in Egypt.⁴ Or, again, there is the institution of the Sabbath. Whatever its origin, by this time its justification in Israel was the right of every one—even the 'sojourner,' the slave, and the cattle—to a partial deliverance from toil. 'Six days shalt thou do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt keep Sabbath; that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thine handmaid, and the sojourner may be refreshed.'⁵ Here it is implied that the

¹ e.g. 1 Sam. ix. 3; cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 8.

² 1 Sam. xi. 5.

³ Judges vi. 11.

⁴ e.g. Exod. v. 5 ff., xiii. 3. The Egyptian 'house of bondage' suggests a second kind of unwelcome work beside tillage, but this is better discussed later (pp. 123 ff., and Note 4).

⁵ Exod. xxiii. 12. The *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, *sub voce*, says, 'originally observed simply by abstinence from labour, Exod. xx. 9, 10 (and Deut. v. 12-14); Exod. xxiii. 12 (E), xxxiv. 21 (J).' Cf. *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, 'Sabbath' (Driver). In face of Exod. xxi. 2 ff., xxiii. 10 ff., it seems impossible to refer the 'humanitarianism

toil of tillage fell chiefly to the slave and the 'sojourner,' and that the recurrent day of rest was thought of as a kind of witness to an ideal state wherein there was no task for any one at all. There is further confirmation in the story of Boaz. He makes an easy progress round his fields after the reapers have begun their tasks, greets his workmen, casts his eye over their work, instructs his 'foreman,' and sleeps on guard beside the winnowed corn, but there is no hint that he himself took a hand with the sickle.¹ His very dress would mark his easy distinction—the workmen kilting their garments about their loins or throwing off all but one, while, to mark their master's leisure, a 'mass of plaited cloth hung down between his knees' or even 'trailed between his feet.'² In the agricultural period toil became indeed more than ever necessary, but it was still held a 'necessary evil,' a thing unworthy of an ideal man, and the Israelite still as far as possible avoided it. Probably the 'heads of houses' in a typical village usually escaped it, and perhaps their adult sons too. For the one leisured Patriarch there were now a number of leisured 'elders.' To escape toil was still part of the notion of a complete prosperity, and the number who escaped had grown.

It has already been assumed that the toil which the freeman escaped fell to the slave in

of the Sabbath altogether to later times, whatever be the date of the Decalogue as a whole (cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 62-64).

¹ Naomi's remark, 'Behold, he winnoweth barley to-night in the threshing floor,' need not mean that Boaz himself winnowed any more than to-day's phrase, 'Mr. X. is building a house,' requires that X. is a bricklayer. Ruth, indeed, was not to approach until the winnowing was over and the winnowers had left (Ruth iii. 2-4).

² Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* i., p. 626, 'Dress' C. M. Mackie).

the agricultural period as well as in the nomadic. Now, however, a second class of toilers is found alongside the slave. These are the hirelings, or workers for wages. They do not appear, indeed, in the documents of the period under that name, but the 'gerim' or 'sojourners' are frequently named, and they are so named as to suggest that they were usually hirelings. It will be recalled that a 'ger' was an 'outsider' who settled in a village for a prolonged period, and who, in order so to settle, accepted the god of the land in which the village lay. There are instances of a 'ger's' being received into the family of one of the villagers or tribesmen in whose midst he 'sojourned.' This seems frequently, or even usually, to have been effected by his marriage with a daughter of the home, as the examples of Moses in Horeb and Jacob in Aram show. In such instances the 'sojourner's' lot would often not be a hard one, but normally he would not have the good fortune to become a member of a Hebrew family. The 'gerim' would then receive such welcome as those who were always strangers and often fugitives might expect. Usually they would have to pick up their living as best they might. How could they do so? The immediate source of every one's livelihood in the early Hebrew village was land, but this precious commodity was permanently divided between the Hebrew families that formed the village.¹ It goes without saying that there was none for the 'ger.' Yet, like every one else, he must somehow 'live by the land.' No doubt he might sometimes sell himself as a

¹ Note its omission in Deut. x. 18; cf. xxiv. 19-21.

slave, and in that less kindly way be absorbed in a Hebrew family. But he is named sometimes along with the bondman as distinct from him. A good instance is the Sabbath ordinance already quoted—'On the seventh day thou shalt keep Sabbath that . . . the son of thy handmaid and the sojourner may be refreshed.'¹ The phraseology implies that, if a Hebrew ryot's household 'rested'—and this would mean chiefly the intermission of field work—the 'rest' would bring relief to two classes, the bondmen and the 'sojourners.' Both, therefore, seem to have 'worked for' the ryot, but apparently in different ways. The same combination of ideas appears in the Decalogue.² Toil is associated with the sojourner by implication in another passage in the 'Book of the Covenant'—'a sojourner shalt thou not oppress . . . seeing ye were sojourners in the land of Egypt.'³ The last phrase recalls the fact that in Egypt the Israelite task-workers had houses of their own.⁴ They were not absorbed into the households of their masters. Was this so, too, with the 'sojourner' in a Hebrew village? It would appear to have been so in the later Deuteronomic period, for the 'sojourner' in its documents is technically known as 'the sojourner *within thy gates*,' and the last three words are equivalent to 'within thy village.'⁵ If the 'ger' normally became part of a Hebrew family, this would be an unnatural phrase. Another Deuteronomic

¹ Exod. xxiii. 12.

² Exod. xx. 10.

³ Exod. xxiii. 9, xxii. 21. In Deuteronomy, however, 'bondmen' as well as 'sojourners' is used of the Israelites in Egypt.

⁴ e.g. Exod. iii. 22, xii. 22.

⁵ Cf. Exod. xxiii. 12; Deut. xv. 7, xvi. 18, xvii. 8, xxiii. 16.

text implies that the ryot and the 'ger' did not eat together,¹ while yet others almost in set terms state that the 'ger' was one outside the home.² There is least likelihood of change in Eastern village life in customs of this kind, and, since it is a characteristic of Deuteronomy that it describes the old village rather than the new city of the Hebrew life under the Monarchy,³ there is little hazard in assuming that the 'sojourner' in Israel from the first had a distinct dwelling within the village.⁴ The 'gerim,' indeed, may have had a separate quarter, like the pariahs in a South Indian village. Yet they were somehow within the ryot's control. Another text in Deuteronomy suggests how—'Thy stranger that is within thy camp, from the hewer of thy wood to the drawer of thy water.'⁵ Here the writer assumes that from nomadic days 'gerim' had been toilers in Israel. It seems clearly to follow that usually the 'gerim' were hirelings, who shared the toil of the Hebrew village with the bondman. 'Hire' was added to slavery as a way to 'get unwelcome work done.'

It would be difficult to say whether the lot of the bondman or the 'ger,' the primitive slave or the primitive wage-earner, was the harder. Both were set to the toil that must be done yet that every one disliked. The distinction that the coercion of the slave was direct and of the

¹ Deut. xiv. 21.

² Deut. xxvi. 12 f., xxviii. 43.

³ *B. D. S.*, p. 101.

⁴ This corrects a statement in *B. D. S.*, pp. 14, 90.

⁵ Deut. xxix. 11.

⁶ At a later day (Deut. xxiv. 14) there were some 'hirelings' of Hebrew birth, but the use of 'gerim' for 'hirelings' in E without qualification seems to mean that earlier this was rare.

'ger' indirect¹ would not perhaps much influence the early Hebrew estimate of the two conditions. Again, it was possible either for a 'ger' or a slave to marry the daughter of one of the indigenous families, and for a Hebrew ryot to take as wife either a bondwoman or a 'ger,'² and, while the Book of Ruth implies that there was usually some stigma attaching to a Hebrew's marriage with a woman 'sojourner,'³ the slave-wife, on the other hand, would usually be a 'secondary wife.'⁴ Yet the 'ger' had the advantage of at least a nominal freedom. Unlike the slave, he was not bound to a given ryot, and he could leave the village if he liked. In the course of time this distinction of freedom was to mean much in the evolution of society. On the other hand, as one of the family the slave was less likely to starve in time of famine or scarcity. Probably the Hebrew farmer would rather dismiss his hirelings than sell his slaves. The latter would be held to have a closer claim on him. Neither condition, therefore, seems to have had a clear advantage over the other. It is a mistake to take it for granted that, because the wage-earner's position to-day is so much superior to a slave's, it must always have been so. But at all events the 'ger' and the bondman were the two 'bottom dogs' in the old Hebrew 'labour world.'

How were the institutions of slavery and hire treated in the early Israelite commonwealth? The answer is to be found in the first Hebrew

¹ p. 31.

² For the 'ger' see Ruth i. 4, iv. 13; for the slave, see pp. 34 f.

³ Ruth ii. 5 f.

⁴ Cf. Gen. xvi. 2, xxx. 3.

code of laws, the 'Book of the Covenant.'¹ It is true that its references to slave and 'ger' are few, but it is remarkable that in so short a code they are named at all. If the three chapters be read through with an eye to this subject, certain results follow. It is taken for granted that the two institutions existed, and there is no hint of the possibility of their abolition. They are treated as 'necessary imperfections' in society. It is also taken for granted that the Hebrew villager was continually under temptation to oppress both slave and 'ger,' and even that in ancient society it was customary to do so. Every single law, however, in the first Hebrew code that bears upon the two institutions is a protest against this oppression. The significance of this appears if a comparison be made with other ancient codes. At first sight it seems a small thing to declare that 'If a man smite his bondman or his bondwoman with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall surely be punished,'² but this is an edict at latest of the seventh or eighth century before the Christian era. Seventeen centuries later, in Saxon England it was still no civil crime for a master to kill a slave, and even the Church was only just beginning to exact penance for it.³ Similarly in the early Roman Empire, in spite of its humanitarian tendencies, law gave a slave's master power to kill him at will, and added and practised the savage edict that, if a Roman master were found murdered and the murderer could not be traced, every one of his slaves who was at large

¹ Exod. xxi.-xxiii.

² Exod. xxi. 20.

³ J. R. Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 334.

at the time should be put to death.¹ This example shows, again, how ancient law, being made by the free, usually included edicts for the protection of masters; the 'Book of the Covenant' has none of these. Instead it decrees that if a master blinded a slave or struck out his tooth, that slave should go free.² Similarly, within the few ordinances that compose this code the command twice runs, 'A "ger" shalt thou not oppress.'³ And, as has already been seen, a chief reason for the keeping of the Sabbath, in the earliest law about it, was that the bondman and the 'ger' on one day in seven might enjoy the leisure that befits a man. The way to judge early codes and customs is to treat them historically. Elsewhere it has been shown how humanitarian early Hebrew law was, if it be examined comparatively, and how its 'humanitarianism' found its nerve in Hebrew religion.⁴ In its treatment of 'the labour problem' it set an early and bright example of the way to deal with 'necessary imperfections'—that is, with imperfections that cannot at once be abolished. Hebraism mitigated evils that it could not abolish, and did so in the name of 'the Lord.' It will appear later how it continually strove to extend the mitigations, still in the name of 'the Lord.'

¹ Lecky, *History of European Morals*, i., pp. 302 f.

² Exod. xxi. 26 f.

³ Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9.

⁴ For the 'ger' see *B. D. S.*, pp. 89 ff., and for the bondman, pp. 62 ff. The latter passage compares the treatment of the slave in the 'Book of the Covenant' and in the code of Hammurabi.

For the religious motive in Hebrew law see *B. D. S.*, pp. 57 f. Goldwin Smith's *Does the Bible Sanction American Slavery?* is a classic comparison of Hebrew and negro slavery, to the great advantage of the former.

F. The Basal Social Relation

It is not unlikely that in the life of primitive peoples religion was always at first the dominant factor. This was certainly so with many such peoples, and among them those of Israel's environment. The distinction of Israel is that religion *maintained* this dominance through all the centuries of its history, and that its concept of Jehovah so continually developed that religion was always equal to the task. There is a good illustration in the subject of this chapter. The transition from the nomadic life to the agricultural was not a small one, yet the Hebrews cherished in the latter an Ideal framed from the former.¹ Two of the elements in this Ideal were wealth and leisure. To enjoy these remained a part of every Hebrew's ambition, and it was an ambition that was not infrequently realized. It is true that every individual Hebrew could not be wealthy and leisured. Slavery, to name nothing else, forbade that. But as yet Israel 'thought in' families. In harmony with this it held that the head of every family ought to be both wealthy and leisured, and actually many of them were so. And they were so by the gift of God. For wealth and leisure alike were consequences of the possession of land, with its retinue of cattle and bondservants, and the Hebrew counted every man's 'inheritance' the benison of Jehovah. On this side, as on others, life was sacramental.

But, again, an Israelite's relation to other men depended on their relation to Jehovah. It

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 37, 97 f.

was his duty to respect another man's right to property and not to steal it, if the other man were in covenant with his God. As the alien had no right to life or to truth,¹ so he had no right to property, it being understood that an 'alien' of course worshipped his own distinct god. But if another man worshipped Jehovah, then the Hebrew must not only respect his property, but rescue him in the day of his poverty—in other words, treat him at least in some degree as a brother—because Jehovah so willed it. Jehovah held a responsibility to a poor Hebrew,—so, therefore, did every other Hebrew. The basis of social duty was not primarily consanguinity or neighbourliness, but religion.

Again, religion had much to do with the other variations in the standard of behaviour towards other men. In bargain another Hebrew was not to be treated like an alien. The story of Joseph's oppression of the Egyptian ryots would not have been told with relish if the ryots had been Hebrew. Then it would have been condemned. It is praised, as Mordecai's rigorous statesmanship is praised in the Book of Esther,² because it was practised against the enemies alike of Jehovah and of Israel. Similarly neither the needy borrower nor even the 'hireling' of a Hebrew village was to be oppressed in any such way as Joseph used in Egypt, for they, too, worshipped Jehovah. The bondservant's lot was mitigated on the same ground. Here the law that gave him the Sabbath is typical. It was impossible that all worshippers of Jehovah escape

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 82, 94 ff.

² Esther viii.—x.

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toil, and so the ideal of leisure, like other ideals, was not universally realizable, but the 'holy day' of Jehovah was to be a universal 'holiday' for those in His covenant, whether man or woman, adult or child, free or bond or 'ger.' The fundamental social relation, both in theory and practice, was the relation to God.

III

ISRAEL UNDER THE KINGS

A. The New Situation

AN attempt has been made elsewhere¹ to show how 'the social situation' in Israel gradually changed after the introduction of Monarchy, how the changes brought new social problems, and how new problems led to the enunciation of a great social principle. It is not possible to treat the subjects of wealth and work under the Monarchy without reference to this general social situation. A brief recapitulation of the results of the investigation just named is therefore necessary at this point. For the evidence on which the results are based, and for the discussion of questions of detail which have no direct connexion with the present subject, the reader is referred to the volume so often quoted in this book.

The social phenomena of the Hebrew Monarchy may be grouped around the old village and the new city. About the former it is here only necessary to say that it persisted through the Monarchy, and that, while within it change was slight and slow, yet the religious 'humanitarianism' already noted as characteristic of Hebrew village life, found in the period of the Kings

¹ *B. D. S.* chap. iii.

clearer enunciation and further application. The chief evidence of this is in the Books of Deuteronomy and Proverbs. Both of these contemplate usually the life of the ryot and not of the citizen.

The city was, *par excellence*, the new phenomenon. It is true that historically it was the sequel of another new phenomenon, the adoption of Monarchy, the city being initially the residence of the king and his military and civil retinue. It is true, too, that the importance of the city in the history of the Hebrew sociology only gradually appeared. Yet both in itself and in its influence upon the other social units the city was none the less the most important element in the social story of the Israelite Monarchy.

This may be seen in several ways. First, the city was the home of specialized callings. In the village every family tended to be self-sufficient. In it mutual duties, and especially the duty of common defence, were indeed recognized, or it would not have been a society at all. But for the needs of ordinary daily life, and especially for the food and clothing whose winning makes up so much of the great unrecorded life of ordinary men, each Hebrew village home was normally independent of every other. In every land the rise of cities alters all this. Citizens tend to be 'specialists.'¹ Their typical motto is, 'This one thing I do.' In Jerusalem a man might be soldier or scribe, artisan or 'king's servant,' merchant or priest. He would rarely be simply ryot. The 'differentiation of

¹ Note 3.

callings,' whose beginnings in earlier forms of society are few and faint, becomes in cities a clear and dominant social phenomenon.¹

Two other characteristics follow from this one. A society of 'specialists' has an intimate and complicated interdependence that does not obtain in a village. The life of the city, so to speak, is more elaborately articulated. While *work* may be 'specialized' until each type of it is confined to a few, certain *wants* remain general. The soldier provides the defence that all need, the scribe records and preserves the laws of all, the 'dealer' in this or that commodity procures it for all his neighbours, and so on. There is an end of the independence of the ryot's home. Specialists cannot be self-sufficient.

Through this interdependence exchange becomes necessary and common, for 'specialists' cannot live except by exchange. Every man has many needs; he 'consumes' a variety of products; and if he only produces one or a few, he can only live if he exchanges his one product for those of others. Such exchange becomes the citizen's daily habit. Indeed it, and not land, is the *immediate* source of his wealth. For his multitudinous bargains a convenient standard of exchange is needed, and this mankind has with virtual unanimity found in money. Cities, therefore, are as naturally the home of commerce as villages of agriculture. There is no need to add that with the coming of intricate and perpetual exchange there arise many 'social problems.'

Again, with the 'differentiation of callings'

¹ Cf. pp. 44-47.

'class distinctions' become prominent. In villages the barriers of class, as has been seen, are naturally low, and distinctions between their families are rather 'quantitative' than 'qualitative.'¹ When, however, men follow distinct callings, it soon ensues that some callings are counted more desirable and 'honourable' than others, and that even among the 'honourable' there are degrees of 'honourableness.' The soldier may despise the merchant, or the merchant the artisan, or all others may unite to despise the ryot, by whose toil they all live. 'Classes' were as 'natural' in Jerusalem as they were 'unnatural' in the old Hebrew village. The biblical documents, however, say little about any of them except one. 'Class distinctions' raise 'social problems' in so far as the several 'classes' enjoy 'privilege.' In Israel one 'class' enjoyed a practical monopoly of privilege. It may be called either the 'rulers,' or 'the King's servants.' Its members were at once the men of rank, of power, of wealth, and of leisure.² Over against them there may be set, on the one hand the remaining citizens of the city, and on the other the village ryots. The phenomenon of 'class distinctions' appears chiefly as between the 'ruling class' and the ryot. It added, of course, another social problem.

Again, while cities are in one way peculiarly interdependent, in another they lend themselves readily to the development of individualism. In the slow and regular life of a village, a family may habitually act as a unit, and its head, through whom it acts, may alone of its members

¹ Cf. p. 45.

² *B. D. S.*, pp. 168 f.

appear usually as an individual.¹ But in the rapid and varied life of a city every man must act often on his own initiative. It offers a hundred times as many opportunities for the development of individual action as a village. Its habits of exchange and bargain require that every citizen constantly take responsible decisions. Its use of money encourages the sense of personal possession. Throughout the Jewish Monarchy there was a continual tendency to 'individualism'; by its close the individual took his place as a normal 'social unit,' alongside the family, the village, the city, and the nation.

Another social phenomenon may be named, since it grew into prominence during the Hebrew Monarchy, though it has not so close a connexion with the subject of 'Wealth and Work,' and though it is not so obviously involved in the coming of the city. Under the Kings Israel as a nation for the first time entered into regular and close relations with other nations. She learnt the use alike of monarchy and city life and commerce from her neighbours. From first to last the city was the centre of her international relations. Solomon made Jerusalem splendid by the imitation of the alien; the Monarchy closed when a foreign foe overthrew Jerusalem.

To meet this new situation Israel evolved a new method. Custom and law had solved the few social problems of village life. Great social principles were involved, but in the evolution of nations laws and customs often arise long before the principles that they illustrate are enunciated or even understood. With the development

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 78 f.

of monarchy and city, however, Israel found that the social problems which thronged upon her were far too numerous, intricate, and subtle to be overtaken by the mere multiplication of laws. Her lawgivers do not seem, indeed, ever to have attempted the task.¹ The only way of hope was by the proclamation and practice of some principle or principles that could be applied to every problem, however new or complex or elusive. In not a few nations none have been found to discover and proclaim such principles, and these nations have thereupon slowly ceased to count in the story of social progress. But among the Hebrews such men were found, and they bore the distinctive Hebrew mark—they were first and foremost men of religion. To meet the new situation there came the Prophets. It will be found below that the Books of Deuteronomy and Proverbs often illustrate the principles that the Prophets proclaimed, but this only shows that the latter elucidated the better mind of the people from whom they sprang. They were not ‘without genealogy,’ but represented the progress of the true Israel.

The principles that the Prophets enunciated were two in number. Or rather, they preached one principle, and, in its practical application, found themselves using another as auxiliary to it. The one was the principle of Righteousness, the other the principle of Accommodation. The first was, for the Prophets, paramount. It can easily be defined, though its content was composite. The Prophets declared that it was the will of Jehovah that throughout the society of

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 126 f.

Israel justice, mercy, truth, and peace should be practised. They even began to apply this principle on an international scale. The principle of Accommodation was not fully elucidated in Israel in this period, or in any period, but it was none the less applied in practice. It is not easy to define. Its use arises when an individual or a society sets itself to reach an ideal which is known not to be immediately attainable. It may, then, consent to a rule or practice, which is not indeed the best, but which is the best practicable, and which leads onward towards the ideal that it does not reach. The principle of Accommodation is difficult of application as well as of definition, and it may easily be abused. Not the least frequent of its abuses is the toleration and perpetuating of a social institution which, through its own success, has ceased to be the best practicable. So stagnation supersedes progress. But further investigation of this principle would be out of place here. Enough has perhaps been said by way of general introduction to the particular problems of wealth and work that emerged in Israel through the new social situation that arose with the coming of the Kings and the city.

B. The Village and the City

It cannot too often be recalled, especially in lands where commerce and manufacture are the chief occupations, that in Israel the great mass of the people always lived by agriculture.¹ Every book of the Monarchic period bears

¹ Israel was still a land of villages: e.g. 2 Kings ii. 19, 24, iv. 39, vii. 12, ix. 21; Amos iii. 12, iv. 8; Hos. ii. 12, iv. 16.

witness that the 'people of the land'—that is, the great majority of the population—still spent their lives in the pasturing of cattle and the tillage of soil. In this calling, and, indeed, in their whole manner of life, they exemplified the proverbial 'changelessness' of the ancient East. It does not appear that a single new implement was added to the tools of agriculture in all the long centuries from Joshua to Jeremiah, nor a single new article to the common people's dress, nor one new kind of utensil to their homes.¹ They did not forsake, for they had no opportunity of forsaking, the ancient Hebrew simplicity. The Eastern village must needs be frugal or it would not be able to support the Eastern city. The nature of this connexion may be more fully examined.

Of the sources of a city's wealth the first was the spoil of enemies and the tribute of conquered states.² In the hey-day of David's victories over the surrounding peoples these perhaps more than sufficed for the comparatively simple needs of that king and his 'servants.' At least there is no instance of taxation in Israel till Solomon.³ But with wealth comes 'spending power.' With the sudden affluence of Jerusalem in the days of David and Solomon a new scale of life and a

The writer has noted in the Monarchic documents the incidental mention of some thirty-five agricultural and pastoral implements, of eight articles of common dress, and of about forty household utensils, but all of these belonged also to the preceding epoch. One passage in Isaiah (xxviii. 28) seems to imply that in his day farmers used horses; if so, this would be a new custom.

¹ e.g. 2 Kings iii. 4.

² Yet probably David's attempt to 'number the people' (2 Sam. xxiv.) was a first step in a plan to tax them, for of old the only use of a census was taxation, as the history of the word 'tax' shows. David's natural census officers were the 'men of war.'

'higher standard of living' became possible, and a demand for new luxuries emerged. Jacob's gift to the Pharaoh had been 'a little balm and a little honey, spicery and myrrh, nuts and almonds,'¹ but to Solomon an alien's 'present' was 'vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and raiment, and armour, and spices, horses and mules.'² These luxuries come from the more advanced civilization of Israel's neighbours, and the travelling merchant began to haunt Jerusalem. Usually he was not of Hebrew birth, for generations after David one term for a 'merchant' was still a 'Canaanite.'³ To-day the Jew has for many centuries abandoned agriculture for trade, partly because in many countries law long forbade him to own land, but in the days of the Hebrew Monarchy an old-fashioned Israelite was always a farmer. Luxuries began to come, but it was the foreigner who brought them.

From this change several consequences followed. The appetite for luxury grows with its satisfaction, and a desire for more and more wealth beset Jerusalem. Again, as it was clear that the capital was the one opportunity of fortune, every young Hebrew adventurer was drawn from his village thither, and the city's population grew. This again multiplied its demands for means both of life and luxury. But an Eastern city, unlike a Western, produces next to nothing. At most it produces some of the luxuries for which it is a market. Their price must, of course, be won by more useful labour. So an Oriental city lives by the agriculture around it.

¹ Gen. xliii. 11.

² 1 Kings x. 25.

³ e.g. Hos. xii. 7; Prov. xxxi. 24; Zech. xiv. 21.

Jerusalem especially never became a seat of manufacture. All that at best it could give the country was good government, while in turn it sucked riches from the villagers' fields.

This leads to the second source of a city's wealth—taxation. Whenever subject races successfully revolted and refused tribute, whenever conquest ceased and with it pillage, the city fell back on the taxation of the ryot. In so far as it secured the peasant safety and justice it had a claim to support, but it was itself the arbiter of the value of the claim, and no class has ever resisted the temptation to over-assess its own deserts. And, of course, under incompetent or unprincipled rulers many of the benefits of Monarchy and city disappeared, but their exactions mounted. So, as the land was the one source of wealth, the taxation of the peasantry grew heavier and heavier, and the city became a synonym for extortion. Even under the first Hebrew kings the arrival of a messenger from the Court dismayed a village.¹

There were two other streams of a capital's revenue, yet they also flowed mainly from the same source. One of these was the gifts of religion, the other the price of justice. When

¹ 1 Sam. xvi. 4 (?), xxi. 1 ; cf. 2 Kings iv. 13. Yet it is remarkable how little evidence there is in the Old Testament of discontent with taxation. Rehoboam's experience (1 Kings xii.) stands alone, and even then Israel's rebellion was probably rather against the 'levy' (see pp. 123 f.). Apparently certain selected families escaped taxation (1 Sam. xvii. 25), and under Solomon perhaps the whole royal tribe (1 Kings iv.). The normal pressure of taxation in an Eastern despotism may be illustrated from the historian Finlay, who says that 'fiscal rapacity' was the 'incurable canker' of the Byzantine Empire, that largely because of it many provinces passed unresisting under the sway of Islam, and yet that 'even in this branch of its administration no other absolute government ever displayed equal prudence and honesty' (Finlay, *Byzantine Empire*, Book 1, chaps. iii. and iv.)

an Israelite visited a shrine he brought an offering, and every great shrine was wealthy. There were always treasures in the Temple, and the history shows that the kings controlled them.¹ Yet, as the temptations of a priesthood to fleece pilgrims are almost overwhelming, it is noteworthy that, though at other Hebrew shrines the priests oppressed worshippers,² there is no record of such oppression in Jerusalem. If it be a true deduction that oppression was comparatively slight there, one reason appears why Solomon's new 'house of God' became popular, and so why its treasures seem hardly ever to have failed at need.

But a Hebrew brought money in his hand, not only when he visited a shrine, but also when he had a cause to plead. The king was both 'Fount of Justice' and final court of appeal. This was as naturally one of his functions as to lead in war, and he had this advantage over the older 'judge'—that, as head of the executive, he could enforce his decisions.³ But, of course, the mere multiplication of cases soon meant that he more or less delegated the administration of law to deputies, and from every litigant they would expect a fee.⁴ A ryot who came to the capital to seek justice must come with money in his hand. In all these ways the city lived upon the country.⁵ It 'consumed' much and 'produced' little.

The growth of luxury may be illustrated from

¹ e.g. 1 Kings vii. 51, xiv. 26, xv. 18; 2 Kings xii. 18, xiv. 14; Jer. xvii. 26.

² e.g. 1 Sam. ii. 12 ff.; Amos ii. 8.

³ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 364.

⁴ *B. D. S.*, pp. 129 ff.

⁵ For this in general cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 7; 2 Sam. xiii. 23; Jer. xxxii. 6 ff., &c., &c.

such passages as Amos' description of those 'at ease in Zion' and Isaiah's of the 'mincing' ladies of Jerusalem.¹ In the latter passage Isaiah catalogues a wealthy woman's wardrobe. It is only when contrasted with the simple and homely garments of the common folk that the pungency of his description appears. For a ryot five articles of dress—a shirt, a robe, a girdle, a turban, a pair of sandals—sufficed, but in seven verses Isaiah enumerates fifteen strange items of the finery of his 'tinkling' dames and two others that had in old time been but the foreigner's toys.² Similarly, Amos portrays the fated exquisites of Samaria lounging unguented on the 'corner of a couch' to troll some novel song, and Jeremiah depicts the scarlet-robed and gold-bedizened 'Daughter of Zion' brightening her great eyes with paint.³

But it is not only the sinister side of luxury that the documents exhibit. Fine art is indeed never wanting in any human society,⁴ yet it never finds full development except among a wealthy people, for only opulence can support a class of specialized artists. The Temple's splendour transcended the Tabernacle's just because its builder could lavish on it the artistic resource of a wealthy age. Further, before the Kings fine art had been almost the monopoly of religion,

¹ Amos. vi. 1 ff.; Isa. iii. 16 ff.

² These are the 'crescents' and 'pendants' (Isa. iii. 18 f.; Judges viii. 26).

³ Amos. iii. 12, vi. 4 ff.; Jer. iv. 30; cf. 1 Kings x. 14-19; Amos i. 7, 10; Hos. viii. 14; Isa. ix. 10, xvii. 10 f., xxii. 13; Zeph. i. 8; Deut. xxviii. 34, 56; 2 Sam. vii. 2; Jer. xxii. 14; Lam. iv. 1, 5, 7; Ps. xlv. 8 ff., &c., &c.

⁴ pp. 44 f. Cf. 1 Sam. vi. 13 ff.; 2 Sam. vi. 5; Deut. xxxi. 24.

but now the leisured classes shared its boons.¹ The documents give glimpses of the 'princes' cedar-ceiled and painted houses, ivory haunts, spicery, jewellery, and the pleasant variety of their music.² Among the 'princes,' too, the demand would arise for the services of the skilled carver in wood and stone, the artificer in metal, the professional musician, and of such practitioners besides as the perfumer and the wailing-woman.³ As usual, art, high and low, waited upon luxury. The splendour of the wealthy in Israel, however, was not the natural flower of Hebrew life. It contrasts, for instance, with the inevitable glory of Athens under Pericles or of Florence under Lorenzo. Hebrew luxury, peculiar to a few, was exotic as well. There is abundant evidence of its foreign origin, and it never became indigenous.⁴ The people gazed at the glamour of the city and its Court as at an alien and unnatural thing. Israel was like a coolie woman wearing a diadem.

It has already been noted that during the Monarchy the everyday use of money—that is, of silver and gold pieces of fixed weight, not of coin—became for the first time usual in Israel. Many texts imply this inevitable result of the advance in civilization marked by the rise of the city.⁵ The era of money had come. In

¹ 1 Kings vii. 1–13; cf. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, 'Temple' (T. W. Davies).

² e.g. Jer. xxii. 14; Amos iii. 15; Isa. iii. 24, v. 12; Lam. iv. 7.

³ *B. D. S.*, pp. 369 f.

⁴ e.g. 2 Sam. viii. 10; 1 Kings iii. 6 ff., vii. 13 ff., x. 2, 14 ff., 25; 2 Kings xvi. 10 ff. Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 106 f.

⁵ See p. 30, footnote 3.

⁶ e.g. 1 Sam. ix. 8; 1 Kings x. 14, 39; 2 Kings vi. 25, vii. 1, x. 4 ff., 15, 19, xviii. 14; Amos ii. 6; Hos. iii. 2; Isa. ii. 7; Deut. xxii. 19. Gifts not in money appear in such texts as 1 Kings xiv. 23; 2 Kings

consequence a new prominence was given in the city to personal property. In the Hebrew village land had always been the typical possession, and there it remained so under the Monarchy, but in the city money would soon compete with it in importance. And, while on the Israelite system land belonged rather to the family than the individual, money was usually a personal possession.¹ Further, the accumulated wealth of the city gave rise to what is now called 'capitalism.' It only appeared as yet, however, in the one form of money-lending. A bad harvest, an unsuccessful suit, a foray from the desert, an attempt to ape the Court's luxury, the prodigality of a favourite son, the pressure of taxation—any or all of these might reduce a villager to want, and against them his one easy resource was a loan. Of course, he might borrow from a fellow ryot, but often he would be driven to seek help in the wealthy city. In return for an 'advance' he would offer the villager's one 'security,' his ancestral plot of land. When the debt and its usury were not paid, the lender might not only seize the land, but enslave its owner and his family. So a particular system of money-lending arose.* In other words,

iv. 42; tribute in kind in 2 Kings iii. 4, and apparently taxation in kind in Amos vii. 1, while 2 Kings v. 5, 23, and Deut. xiv. 24 f. give interesting hints of the way in which by its portability money gradually superseded other *media* of exchange. In 2 Kings v. 24 it comes first in a list of items of wealth.

¹ See last footnote, especially 2 Kings v. 5, 23; in the villages garments were still the poor man's natural 'pledge' (Deut. xxiv. 13, 17; Prov. x. 16).

* A *system* as distinct from *occasional* loans, which must be as old as human society. Of course, even the system had old roots (1 Sam. xxii. 2). Another illustration may be given. The Roumanian hero, 'Michael the Brave' (ob. 1601 A.D.), not daring to extort money either from the

the custom by which land in Israel was all but inalienable¹ now broke down, at least in part. The freeholder living on his farm gave way in many a village to an absentee landlord, and liberty often followed equality into the *limbo* of dreams.²

The problem of 'capital,' therefore, emerged in Israel at this time, and did so in a particular way. A further peculiarity must be recalled.³ The 'capitalist'—the man whose primary characteristic is the possession of accumulated wealth—was not 'differentiated' in Israel.⁴ The city was the haunt of the few wealthy rulers, who were at once legislature, judiciary, nobility, and plutocracy. On the other hand, while no doubt there were poor citizens, the typical poor man of the period belonged to the country.⁵ The normal contrast was between the ryot and the rich. As usual, a new dire kind of poverty came with wealth,⁶ and a new temper displaced between rich and poor the old brotherliness of a common village life. The new temper and its cause may be seen in such texts as these: 'The rich ruleth over the poor. And the borrower is servant to the lender'; 'I have not lent on

nobles of his own land or from the peoples he had 'conquered,' laid his burdens upon the peasants of his own people, who in consequence were many of them driven to sell their holdings, their children, and themselves (W. Miller, *The Balkans*, p. 58).

¹ pp. 40, 47, &c.

² For passages illustrative of these statements see III. C.

³ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 168 f.

⁴ To the end of the Monarchy money-lending does not seem to have been the one calling of a distinct class. See *B. D. S.*, pp. 370 f., and cf. Amos ii. 6, 8; Isa. iii. 14 f.; Hab. ii. 6; Ezek. xviii. 7.

⁵ e.g. 2 Kings xxiv. 14, xxv. 12, 18; Amos v. 11, viii. 4.

⁶ e.g. Amos iv. 1, v. 11, viii. 4; Isa. iii. 14 f.; Mic. ii. 2; Hab. iii. 14; Prov. xviii. 23; contrast Deut. xiv. 29, xv. 7 ff., xxiv. 14 f., 19.

usury, neither have men lent to me on usury, yet every one of them doth curse me.'¹

One more consequence of the rise of the city may be mentioned, though there is so little said about it in the Monarchic documents that it is of small moment in the discussion of the period of the Kings. The differentiated and articulated life of Hebrew cities readily lent itself to a new kind of 'wages system.' A man of a specialized calling often finds that to 'hire himself out' is the easiest way both of exercising his calling and earning his living. The clearest instance in the Hebrew records comes from the story of the repairing of the Temple in Josiah's reign.² Here the skilled artificers of various kinds receive wages in money. In the city there were other such wage-earners, too,—for instance, the soldiers of the royal guard and others of 'the king's servants.' Their 'pay' sometimes included board.³ Again, soldiers had a share in plunder⁴; they were provided with armour, at least sometimes⁵; 'horses and chariots' in particular seem never to have been a soldier's own property.⁶ The term 'hire' now occurs, not only of the agricultural 'hireling,' but of mercenaries, and even of the 'hiring' of a king's alliance.⁷ The village 'hirelings' were sometimes paid in kind

¹ Prov. xxii. 7; Jer. xv. 10; cf. passages under last footnote.

² 2 Kings xxii. 3 ff.; contrast Judges xvii. 10.

³ 2 Sam. ix. 7; 1 Kings iv. 7, 27.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxx. 23 ff.

⁵ 1 Kings x. 17, xiv. 27; 2 Kings xx. 13.

⁶ Even for a king's son to own them betokened pretence to the succession (2 Sam. xv. 1; 1 Kings i. 5).

⁷ 2 Sam. x. 6; 2 Kings vii. 6; Isa. vii. 20; Jer. xlvi. 21; cf. Deut. xxiii. 4; Judges ix. 4. A peculiar term also occurs for the 'wages' of a harlot (אֶרְנָה): Hos. ii. 12, vi. 9 f., ix. 1; Isa. xxiii. 17 f.; Mic. i. 7; cf. Deut. xxiii. 18; Mic. iii. 11.

and sometimes in money.¹ The vital distinction between them and the new kind of wage-earner was that their work was undertaken under the spur of necessity and not by choice. Exceptions on both sides do not invalidate the rule. In this period, however, there are not enough details about the new type of wage-earner to enable any useful conclusions about it to be drawn. Its emergence is noteworthy for the history of work.

C. The Responsibility of Privilege

It appears, then, that so far as wealth is concerned the principal social problem of the Monarchy might be defined indifferently as the relation of the city to the village, of the ruler to the ryot, or of the rich to the poor. What had the teachers of the time, and chief among them the Prophets, to say about this problem?

The first striking fact is that from Nathan to Jeremiah the Prophets uniformly championed the poor and denounced the rich.² Again, a single Hebrew term, common at this time, denoted indifferently the 'meek,' the 'afflicted,' and the 'poor.'³ Again, a number of passages postulate that the rich were of course wicked.⁴ It would be wrong, however, to deduce that the

¹ Deut. xiv. 21, xxiv. 14 f.

² e.g. Amos ii. 6, iv. 1, v. 11, viii. 4 f.; Isa. iii. 14 f.; x. 1, xvi. 4, xxix. 19; Hab. iii. 14; Jer. ii. 34, vii. 6, xxii. 16; cf. Prov. xxii. 7, 16; Deut. xv. 2, 7.

³ *B. D. S.*, p. 133, עני or עני. If these be distinguished as originally 'humble' and 'humbled' respectively, it is still true that both occur indiscriminately with all three above meanings.

⁴ e.g. Hos. xiii. 5 f.; Mic. vi. 10 ff.; Isa. iii. 14 f.; Zeph. i. 11 f., 18, iii. 12; Prov. xi. 16, xv. 25, xxviii. 20; Ps. lii. 7, lxxii. 4; Deut. viii. 11 ff., xxxii. 15; Jer. v. 27 f.

Prophets denounced wealth, or even the existence of a distinct wealthy class. It would not have been remarkable if they had set themselves to cry out upon this phenomenon, or even upon the city that produced it, as a new and alien thing, but they do not so cry out. On the contrary, almost without exception their anticipations of the perfect future expected it to centre in a city.¹ Isaiah only brought the main trend of prophetic thought on this subject to a proper climax when in his universal way he cried that Tyre, the typical commercial city, should one day dedicate its 'harlot's hire' to Jehovah Himself.²

But if the Prophets did not denounce wealth, luxury, and commerce, nor even their monopoly by a few, as in themselves evil, why did they, whenever they came in sight of the controversy between rich and poor, universally uphold the poor and denounce the rich? Because the rich of their time with virtual unanimity abused their wealth, because in the controversy of 'classes' as it came within their knowledge they found the poor were always in the right, because the rich few used their wealth, not for the furtherance of a universal and righteous prosperity in Israel, but for the grinding of the poor to serve their own selfish ends. The Prophets were willing to admit a monopoly of wealth, as they were willing to admit a monopoly of power, of rank, of leisure, if it served to hasten the

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 154 f., 178. Yet see Hos. xii. 9; cf. Zech. ii. 5 f.

² Isa. xxiii. 17 f. This bold figure seems the bolder when it is remembered that old Hebrew 'public opinion' forbade the consecration of just this gift to God (Deut. xxiii. 18). Cf. p. 116.

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realization of their ideal.¹ They brought it under the principle of Accommodation.

There is evidence of this in such general facts as those prophetic descriptions of the future as a city which have already been named, but the chief and specific evidence is that the Prophets denounced the abuse rather than the ownership of wealth, and that behind their denunciations there ever lay the assumption of the great social principle of a man's responsibility for others. In modern terms, they condemned the seeking of wealth by 'unrestricted competition.'

This phrase is always used in a qualified way, for to practise quite unrestricted competition would be to reintroduce Cain's method with Abel. The very commands 'Thou shalt not kill,' 'Thou shalt not steal,' restrict competition. A modern restriction unknown in ancient Israel says, 'Thou shalt not sell thy debtor into slavery,' and comparatively recent legislation has added, 'Neither shalt thou imprison him, unless he be a criminal as well as a debtor.' Further, in every age 'respectability' imposes even upon the 'man in the street' a standard of restraint higher than legislation enforces, for every calling recognizes certain transactions which are not outright illegal as 'hitting below the belt,' and it would be possible to show that on the whole, at least within Christendom, such standards tend slowly to rise. 'Limited self-seeking' would be a more exact name for the theory in question than 'unrestricted competition.' The theory is that, so long as a man does not transgress the particular standard of 'respectability' or 'honour' held in

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 168 ff.

his time or calling, it is not only allowable but praiseworthy that his primary aim should be to 'make his own fortune.' Some have even added that an economical law as 'iron' as those of nature will ruin him if he does not seek to do this, and that universal self-seeking of this kind is a good thing for society. The advocate of competition urges that the community benefits by the selfishness of its members, because their struggle with each other tends to its profit. A limited selfishness is counted a social boon.

It is no part of the present subject to discuss how far this theory is a necessary part of modern scientific economics, how far it is to-day practised, or even how far it is justifiable. It is here set forth merely because the capitalists of the Hebrew Monarchy illustrate its operation, and the one germane question is, 'How did the Old Testament teachers treat it?' It might be said truly that they insisted that commerce should respect the current standard of ethics; for instance, they denounced the use of the unjust balance and 'divers weights,'¹ and gibbeted deceit.² It might be added that they strove to raise the standard of commercial behaviour and to narrow the limits within which competition should rage,—that they forbade the enslaving of a debtor, and secured for a widow at least her raiment and for a poor man his mill.³ But

¹ e.g. Amos viii. 5; Mic. vi. 10 f.; Deut. xxv. 13 ff.; Prov. xi. 1, xx. 10, 23.

² e.g. Amos ii. 4; Hos. iv. 1 f., vii. 1; Isa. xxviii. 14 ff.; Mic. vi. 12, vii. 5; Zeph. i. 9, iii. 13; Jer. iv. 2, vii. 9, ix. 4 ff. Add Ps. xxvii. 12; lv. 21, lxiii. 11, ci. 5; Prov. xvii. 7, xxvi. 24 ff., &c. Cf. *B. D. S.*, 129 ff., 135 ff.

³ Amos ii. 6, viii. 6 (cf. 2 Kings iv. 1); Deut. xxiv. 6, 17 (cf. Exod. xxii. 26); Deut. xxiv. 13.

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their master doctrine was neither of these. A few typical passages will show that their demand, while it included 'common honesty,' reached a deeper principle too—'O ye that would swallow up the needy, and cause the poor of the land to fail, saying, When will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn? and the Sabbath that we may set forth wheat? . . . that we may buy the poor for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes, and sell the refuse of the wheat. The Lord hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works'¹; 'The Lord will enter into judgement with the elders of His people, and the princes thereof. It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard, the spoil of the poor is in your houses; what mean ye that ye crush My people, and grind the face of the poor? saith the Lord, the Lord of Hosts'²; 'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land'; 'Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his! how long? and that ladeth himself with pledges! Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall exact usury of thee, and awake that shall toss thee to and fro, and thou shalt be for booties unto them?'³ By Jeremiah's time unscrupulous self-seeking was universal: 'From the least of them even unto the greatest of them every one is given to covetousness'⁴; already in Hosea's day the modern defence of a limited selfishness—that the current standard of behaviour was observed—

¹ Amos viii. 4 ff.

² Isa. iii. 14 f.

³ Isa. v. 8.

⁴ Hab. ii. 6 f.

⁵ Jer. vi. 13; cf. viii. 10, xxii. 17, li. 13.

was common : ' Surely I am become rich, I have found me wealth ; in all my labours they shall find in me none iniquity that were sin'¹; but neither the universality of the evil nor the speciousness of the excuse bore down the Prophets. They demanded not the limitation, but the *abolition*, of selfishness. Only on this principle can their denunciations be explained. Common opinion saw nothing wrong in the sale of a debtor or the accumulation of land, but for the Prophets these things were wicked because they were selfish.

But what is the implied definition of selfishness ? To seek one's own good is not denounced in the Bible, but to seek one's own good only or mainly. Later the full theory developed that no man must do anything save for the good of mankind—his own and others' good.² The Prophets stayed at a negative demand—that no Israelite should so live as to benefit himself by harming his fellows. The rich of their day flourished by making others poor. As Jeremiah put it, they were as a bird ' that sitteth on eggs which she hath not laid.'³ They got a benefit without giving one. Slowly their usury sucked the country dry. They were not a blessing to the community but a curse. Their transactions might not break any law, nor even infringe the current standard of ' honour,' but none the less the Prophets stigmatized the merely selfish use of ' capital ' as a wrong at once to Israel and to God. It was both treachery and sin.

In modern phrase this means that the Old Testament treats economics as a ' normative '

¹ Hos. xii. 8.² *B. D. S.*, pp. 277 ff.³ Jer. xvii. 11.

and not a 'natural' science. Its laws, that is, are not 'iron,' but depend upon the aim chosen. A man set upon the attainment of beauty or truth will follow the laws of aesthetics or logic, but if he rather seek the useful or the convenient he will obey other rules. So a capitalist's behaviour will vary according as his aim be merely his own prosperity, or his city's, his country's, his race's good. 'Competition,' in the original sense of the term, there must be, but each competitor's aim in a true economy will be that he best serve the common weal. The laws of an economics with this aim will differ often from those of one whose postulate is that every man's goal is only or primarily his own wealth. For the Prophets the 'iron' thing was not economic but moral law, and even the practical Book of Proverbs left the Hebrew no doubt as to what he must do if he could not be both rich and righteous.¹ The Old Testament demanded that all social practices, including the use of money, should serve the righteous prosperity of all Israel. A rich class would be lawful if it were the best present tool for the realization of this ideal, else it must perish. This theory may or may not find justification from economic science to-day, but it is the undoubted teaching of the Prophets. A single quotation from Proverbs will show that here, as elsewhere, the Prophets were the mouthpiece of all the better thought of Israel: 'He that withholdeth corn, the people shall curse him; but blessing shall be upon the head of him that selleth it.'²

¹ e.g. Prov. xi. 4, 18, 26, 28, xv. 6, 16 f., xvi. 8, 16, 19, xxii. 1, xxiii. 4 ff., xxviii., 6, 22.

² Prov. xi. 26.

It is worth while to trace more closely the application of the principle to three particular subjects connected with wealth—hire, land, and usury—before passing to the discussion of its relation to leisure.

It will appear later that it was still usual for the 'hireling' to be 'oppressed.'¹ His 'oppression,' like that of others, was, of course, banned. But on what grounds? The Deuteronomist required that as a day-labourer he must receive a day's pay each night.² Why? Competition could easily justify a deferred payment.³ A self-seeking master might surely bargain with his hirelings for a weekly wage. What immorality was there in that? But, in fact, a hireling was only such in Israel through dire want; living 'from hand to mouth,' he often needed one day's wages for the next day's food; as he could not defend himself against his master, the law defended him, and required his payment daily. In other words, it was Jehovah's will that in bargain a master do not seek his own benefit through his workmen's disadvantage.

Again, throughout the Monarchy the theory still held in Israel that each family had a right to a share in the land. David complained to Saul that his minions had 'driven (him) out . . . that (he) should have no share in the inheritance of the Lord';⁴ the Deuteronomic Decalogue added to the earlier form of the tenth commandment the particular, 'Neither shalt thou desire thy

¹ pp. 122 f.

² Deut. xxiv. 14 f.

³ It is a common practice in India for employers, whether English or native, to retain servants' monthly wages until some days of the next month have elapsed as a guarantee of their behaviour.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.

neighbour's . . . field'¹; both Amos and Jeremiah set the loss of ancestral fields alongside that of a wife's honour as a description of final curse²; for Jeremiah a stricken man's recovery of his land was a signal compassion of Jehovah³; the possession of an 'inheritance' was still the warrant of a sure livelihood⁴; in Ezekiel's vision of the perfect future, the basis of every tribe and every family's prosperity is still the possession of land.⁵ Such an obviously dishonest practice, therefore, as the removal of the landmark was held peculiarly heinous.⁶ But what of other ways than that of securing other men's land? Members of the Court sometimes held land at a distance from the capital.⁷ This might have been lawfully bought,⁸ or it might be the usurer's spoil, but Isaiah and Micah have each a fierce 'woe' against a mere multiplication of landed possessions.⁹ Why? It is not suggested in these passages that the land was acquired by any but 'honest' means; the ground assigned is that by this practice other men lost their means of life; the successfully competitive are pilloried because of the consequences for the unsuccessful. The land-grabber got a benefit without really giving one; he prospered by his neighbour's loss.

The total prohibition of usury or interest within Israel, while it obtained earlier,¹⁰ may be discussed

¹ Deut. v. 21.

² Amos vii. 17; Jer. vi. 12.

³ Jer. xii. 15.

⁴ e.g. 2 Sam. ix. 7, 9 f., xiv. 16; 1 Kings ii. 26, xxi. 3; 2 Kings ix. 21; Hos. v. 7, 10; Deut. iii. 20; Lam. v. 2; Prov. xii. 11; Jer. xxxii. 7.

⁵ Ezek. xlvii. 13, 22; cf. xlviii. 1-7, 23-28

⁶ Deut. xix. 14; Prov. xxii. 28; cf. Hos. v. 10.

⁷ e.g. 1 Sam. xxii. 7 f.; 2 Sam. xiii. 23.

⁸ Cf. 1 Kings xvi. 24, xxi. 2.

⁹ Isa. v. 8; Mic. ii. 1 f.

¹⁰ Cf. pp. 57 f.

at this point.¹ The Hebrew farmer, unlike the 'commercial classes' of to-day, never contracted a loan except under the stress of need.² In consonance with this it is universally assumed in the Old Testament, as always throughout the East, that the lender always had and used an advantage over the borrower.³ The circumstances of Canaan under the Monarchy hardly ever allowed that the latter should bargain on equal terms with the former. Here Hebrew society contrasted sharply with modern—as the institution called 'A Joint Stock Company,' for instance, shows. The issue was the universal exorbitance of Eastern rates of interest.⁴ In Israel to lend at interest was really a benefit to the 'capitalist' only, therefore it was banned. The ground taken here, too, was that a man must seek in bargain to give a benefit that is in fact and not only in appearance as great as he gets. It is from this point of view that the seemingly over-prudential warnings of Proverbs against suretyship⁵ can be understood, for its almost invariable sequel was not to save a neighbour from ruin, but to involve one's own home in it as well. 'Be thou not one of them that strike hands, of them that are sureties for debts. If thou hast not wherewith to pay, why should he take away thy bed from under thee?'⁶

It will now be seen why to lend at interest may

¹ Deut. xxiii. 19 (Exod. xxii. 25); cf. Prov. xxviii. 8; Hab. ii. 6; Ezek. xviii. 17 ff., xxii. 12, xxxiii. 15.

² Cf. Deut. xv. 7 f.

³ e.g. Deut. xv. 6, xxviii. 12, 44; Prov. xxii. 7, 16.

⁴ A common rate in India is an anna *per* rupee *per mensem* (a penny for sixteen pence). This does not look unreasonable to an illiterate Hindu, but it is 75 *per cent. per annum*.

⁵ Prov. xi. 15, xvii. 18, xx. 16, xxvii. 13.

⁶ Prov. xxii. 26 f.

sometimes be a right and sometimes a wrong action. Its only justification is that it really benefits both parties. Modern society has undertaken the difficult task of its right practice. Its prohibition within Israel is parallel to the Decalogue's prohibition of statuary. Both might in other ages and another race be useful, but among the Hebrews under the Kings they were not a help, but a hindrance, to the realization of Righteousness. So, by a negative application of the principle of Accommodation, they were both forbidden. The prohibition of usury disappeared with the conditions that required it, but the underlying axiom that in every bargain each party must seek the benefit of both, abides.¹

To pass to the subject of leisure, the Prophets took the same attitude to its existence, its monopoly, and its abuse as to the existence, the monopoly, and the abuse of wealth. It has already been seen that the same class, the 'rulers,' enjoyed both privileges.

Two of the facts about leisure in this period seem at first contradictory, but the principle of Accommodation reconciles them. On the one hand the old view persisted that toil—that is, for ancient times, the unremitting 'fag' of field-labour—is a curse, and that man does right to escape from it as far as he can²; on the other

¹ Since gambling does not appear to have been a Hebrew common vice, and, apart from a few incidental and doubtful references, as 2 Kings xvi. 23, Isa. lxxv. 11, is not mentioned in the Bible, it may be noted that the root of its wrong lies here. (See p. 200.)

² pp. 34, 73. For this view's persistence during the Monarchy see the references to the Sabbath—2 Kings xi. 5; Hos. ii. 11; Jer. xvii. 21 ff., and especially Deut. v. 14 f.—and such texts as Deut. xi. 10, xvi. 8, xxvi. 7, xxviii. 56, 65, xxix. 11; Prov. xii. 9, xvi. 26; Hab. ii. 13; Lam. v. 13.

hand, not only are wealthy men found directing, like Boaz, the task of the fields,¹ but it is assumed that free men often themselves undertook it, for a long series of passages in Proverbs reproves its neglect.² It seems clear that in the days of the Monarchy this work fell less exclusively to the bondservants and 'gerim' than in earlier times. Probably the pressure of taxation and its allied evils so reduced their number on many a Hebrew homestead that their labour was no longer adequate to the needs of tillage. In any case, what the wise man condemns is not leisure in its just sense—liberty to select the work that one loves—but mere laziness, and the tone even of these favourite saws of the diligent implies that toil was an unwelcome condition of prosperity. Their gist is this: 'In all labour there is profit'³—that is, labour is a good means, not a good end. Toil, in other words, was a 'necessary evil,' an unavoidable condition of the achievement of a righteous prosperity. So the ryot who refused to take his part in the hard annual reduction of the fields to the service of man was a traitor to his village. On the other hand, even in a document of Monarchic date, to escape the rigour of Egyptian tillage is pictured as one of the boons of Canaan,⁴ and the nameless Prophet of the Exile expected that on the Return aliens should

¹ e.g. 1 Kings xix. 19; 2 Kings iv. 18. A princess might be famous in the royal home for cookery (2 Sam. xiii. 5 ff.), but, as to-day, there may have been grades of work even in kitchens (cf. 1 Sam. viii. 13).

² Prov. x. 5, xii. 24, 27, xiii. 4, xviii. 9, 10, 15, xx. 4, 13, xxi. 15, xxvi. 13 ff., xxvii. 23 ff. Since proverbs are a popular product and the village work under the Monarchy was chiefly field work, the references to sloth in this book almost all have the neglect of this kind of toil in view. For sloth in general add Prov. x. 26, xix. 24, xxii. 13.

³ Prov. xiv. 23.

⁴ Deut. xi. 10 ff.

fulfil the servitude of Israel's fields.¹ That 'honest toil' was still no part of the ideal appears in a more subtle way in the exemption of great Prophets from menial tasks.' Chief of all, the Sabbath, in contrast with 'the six working days,' still continually reminded every Israelite of the boon of leisure.

While, however, a large degree of leisure was impossible for all, it was possible for a few, and to the *fellahin* it would seem that the clever men who went up to the city and succeeded at Court enjoyed it. Nor was this surmise all wrong, for at Eastern Courts in particular the more a man succeeds—that is, the more he becomes the despot's favourite—the nearer he comes to doing what he likes. The despot himself is just the man who gets all his own way. And in contrast to 'the people of the land,' the whole Hebrew Court would escape field-work, and so formed broadly a 'leisured class.' But when a multitude longs for a thing it finds it hard to tolerate its monopoly by a few. In particular, the enjoyment of leisure by a handful often provokes an almost unique resentment in the rest. It would not, therefore, be strange if the Prophets had denounced the mere leisure of the two Hebrew Courts. What course did they take about it? In the first place they thundered against its abuse. Here fall their denunciations

¹ Isa. lxi. 5 f.; cf. xiv. 2, xlix. 23, lx. 10. This prophet no doubt fixed on this detail because he had seen the captive Hebrew tilling his master's field in the land of Exile.

² pp. 126 f.

³ Ezek. xlv. 1. See p. 107, footnote 2, and add Ezek. xx. 12–24, xlv. 24.

⁴ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 169.

of its easy prostitution to drunkenness,¹ and their righteous outbreaks upon its usual garnishing, 'The tokens of the wanton and the plunder of the poor.'² But there is more than this. Two prophets in particular, denouncing the selfishness of luxury, denounced also the *mere enjoyment* of leisure. Nothing roused Isaiah's wrath more than the useless lives of the 'delicate women' of Jerusalem, 'which would not adventure to set the soles of their feet upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness.'³ Against their haughty and careless ease he flung two fierce oracles.⁴ The one depicts the multitudinous perquisites of the idly rich as the ground of their doom; the other makes the blessing of the husbandman whose toil they at once enjoyed and despised, the foil of their own curse. Such a woman's sin was that she merely 'enjoyed herself.' Similarly, in Amos' famous oracle against those 'at ease in Zion,'⁵ the 'leading idea' is not that their pleasant life of luxury was in itself sinful. There is nothing inherently vicious in 'beds of ivory' and 'stalled calves,' in 'instruments of music like David's' and 'chief ointments.' The prophecy concentrates the guilt of the 'notable men' of Israel in the single phrase that forms its climax: 'They are not grieved for the affliction

¹ In Israel there seems from the first to have been some degree of social disapproval of drunkenness, and this grew more decided with time, until at last it was counted an outright vice. A like process can be traced in the last two centuries. For Israel see Gen. ix. 20 ff., xix. 30 ff.; 1 Sam. xxv. 36; 2 Sam. xi. 13, xiii. 28; 1 Kings xvi. 9, xx. 12; Amos iv. 1, vi. 6; Hos. iv. 11, vii. 5; Isa. v. 11 ff., v. 22, xxviii. 1 ff.; Deut. xxi. 20; Hab. ii. 5; Prov. xx. 1, xxiii. 21, 29 ff.; Ezek. xlv. 21. Cf. pp. 213 ff.

² e.g. Amos iv. 1 ff., v. 11.

⁴ Isa. iii. 16 ff., xxxii. 9 ff.

³ Deut. xxviii. 56.

⁵ Amos vi. 1 ff.

of Joseph.' In other words, Amos held that leisure is responsibility, and that the privilege of a few makes them debtors to the many. It was good for a man to be able to do as he chose, but woe unto him if he chose the irresponsible indifference of self-centred ease. His privilege failed then of its one purpose, and the providence that created this tool would cast it away. '*Therefore* now shall they go captive with the first that go captive, and the revelry of the sprawlers shall end.'¹ 'Therefore!' The Bible has no praise for splendid indolence: for it the monopoly of a few is always responsibility for the many, the privilege of a few their means of ministry to all. The Prophets gibbet selfish leisure alongside selfish wealth.

As it is often confidently claimed that the Prophets were innovators in Israel it is worth while noticing that their doctrine that privilege is ministry was implicit in the older Hebrew law. The ancient teaching that Jehovah held the rich in a village responsible for the poor² was really an elementary instance of this principle. Some other illustrations of the application of the idea by the Deuteronomist teachers have been given here and there above. The Prophets rather elucidated than discovered. Yet in the progress of ethics elucidation is often as high a service as discovery. Further, the Prophets applied in quite new ways the principles that they elucidated. Only so were they equal to the novel challenge of their times. In the villages of Israel, however, the old conditions prevailed. A

¹ Amos vi. 7. (See *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon* on עוֹד.)

² pp. 56 ff.

paragraph or two may here be added to show how in them the teaching that the rich are responsible for the poor persisted in its pre-Prophetic form. The discussion of slavery below will add another instance.¹

To-day the duty of the rich to the poor is often gathered under such terms as 'almsgiving' and 'charity,' but these words are inadequate to the ideas of a Hebrew village. Deuteronomy has an instructive list of the poor of such a village—'the Levite, the "ger," the fatherless, and the widow.' A series of Deuteronomic passages teach charity to these,² yet always as a duty owing, not to them, but to Jehovah. The idea underlying every passage is that God required a prosperous man to care for the unprosperous. Alms were not a work of supererogation, to be intermitted at will, but a part of man's duty to the Lord: 'Thou shalt say before the Lord thy God, I have put away the hallowed things out of mine house, and also I have given them unto the Levite, and unto the "ger," to the fatherless, and to the widow, according to all Thy commandment which Thou hast commanded me.'³ The Levite gradually asserted a special right to complete support and ceased to be poor,⁴ but at first every needy man's claim to alms paralleled

¹ pp. 117 ff.

² Deut. xii. 12, 18, xiv. 26, 28 f., xvi. 11, 14, xviii. 1 ff., xxiv. 19 ff., xxvi. 11, 12 ff. Deut. xiv. 21 concedes to charity what it forbids to personal use. The notion even here, however, is not quite the modern mean one that a man is charitable if he gives away what he does not want. Deut. xv. 7 ff. refers, not to alms direct, but to loans that might become alms. Even here the usual motive is obedience to Jehovah. This is true of the whole of Deut. xv. 1-18.

³ Deut. xxvi. 13.

⁴ Deut. xviii. 1-8. Cf. Ezek. xlv. 29 f., xlv. 1-5; and see pp. 139 f.

his, and based on the same religious grounds.¹ To give to the poor was an obligation to God. Further, Deuteronomy required that, if one ryot were poor, another was readily to lend him all that he needed without interest, and a 'Sabbatical' statute even seems to lay it down that every seventh year was to be a universal 'year of release,' when debts between Hebrews cancelled themselves.² It is not quite clear what the last law really means, nor whether these rules were more than a partial formulation of existing custom.³ In the more complex society of Hebrew cities the practice of such laws would be difficult, as, indeed, a passage in Jeremiah witnesses,⁴ but the simple village communities may yet have practised them. Two passages of post-Exilic date perhaps refer to their survival in later times,⁵ and in any case they do not seem more 'impracticable' than the uses of the seventh fallow year and 'shifting severalty' which still obtain in Palestine.⁶ Many ancient customs seem at first impossible in modern eyes. The Hebrew abhorrence of the merely theoretic, and the retrospective habits of Deuteronomy,

¹ It is probable that the habit of religious almsgiving arose as the notion of God ennobled. At first at religious feasts—and all feasts were religious—certain parts of the 'sacrifice' were set for the god to consume. But as men discovered that God has no animal appetites, another use was sought for these 'hallowed things.' They often fell naturally to the priests (cf. 1 Sam. ii. 12 ff.), and there is a hint of other and superstitious uses in the context of the passage quoted above (Deut. xxvi. 14), but Israel was bidden to dedicate them to the needy as being 'God's poor.' (Cf. 2 Sam. vi. 19.)

² Deut. xv. 1-11.

³ Here the 'Book of the Covenant' and Deuteronomy supplement each other.

⁴ Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff.

⁵ Neh. x. 31; 4 Macc. ii. 8.

⁶ Cf. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, iv., pp. 325 f.; also *B. D. S.*, p. 36, and Additional Note 1.

make it at least possible that in that book's Sabbatic statutes there is an attempt to preserve ancient use. At the least there must have been some customs in Israel that tallied more or less with these laws, and, whatever they were, they witness to the strength of the old creed that in Jehovah's plan every Israelite was in some degree responsible for every other.¹

Only one other book has anything direct to say about alms, here again Proverbs supplementing Deuteronomy.² It is true that in its praises of 'charity' the directly religious motive is rather assumed than asserted. Yet its underlying doctrine everywhere is that providence allots prosperity to the generous and beggars the niggardly. A characteristic passage has been borrowed by the Anglican liturgy to commend Christian almsgiving: 'He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and his good deed will He pay him again.'³ A number of passages below exemplify the recognition of a Hebrew's duty to his neighbour in other ways.⁴ In them, again, Deuteronomy and Proverbs sustain each other. The will of the Lord, intending a universal prosperity in Israel, continually laid obligations to the 'have-nots' upon the 'haves.'

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 29 f.

² Prov. xvii. 8, xix. 6, 17, xxi. 13, 26, xxii. 9, 16, xxviii. 27.

³ Prov. xix. 17. The series of passages selected in this liturgy to be read during the offertory at Holy Communion intermingles the claims of the poor and the ministry in quite the Deuteronomic way.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxx. 32 ff.; 2 Sam. i. 11, ii. 6 ff., iii. 31 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 1 ff.; Isa. xxxii. 8; Deut. iii. 18 ff., xv. 2 f., 7 ff., 12 ff., xx. 19, xxii. 1 ff., 4, 8, xxiii. 19 f., xxiv. 6, 10 ff., xxvii. 24; Jer. xxii. 13, xxxiv. 9 ff.; Ps. vii. 4; Prov. xi. 12 ff., 24 ff., xiv. 21, xvi. 28 f., xvii. 9, 17, xxi. 10, xxiii. 6 f., xxiv. 11 f., xxv. 8 ff., xxvi. 18 f., xxviii. 27, xxix. 7.

Two remarks may be added. The first is that though the teachers of Israel at the time of the Kings, facing the practical needs of the times, applied the principle of a true altruism only to the rich, it applies also to the poor.¹ There was no need to defend a rich man's rights, but it does not follow that he had none. The other remark is that the Prophets' real method was to apply the ethics of old agriculture to the new commerce. Broadly speaking, it is true in a land of peasant proprietors that he who works eats. The Prophets taught that in trade, too, these were Jehovah's terms. Agriculture has often seemed *par excellence* the honest occupation. So, for instance, Browning sends 'Gigadibs,' the victim of 'Bishop Blougram's' sophistry, straight to Australia :

By this time he has tested his first plough
And studied his last chapter of St. John,

and the writer remembers how a serious 'business man,' perplexed by the intricacies of commercial morality, confided to him a hope that some time he might escape to the country—'I should like to get back to the land.' There are in Proverbs hints that the contrast between the honesty of tillage and the injustice of trade seemed sometimes to the ordinary Israelite inherent in the occupations themselves,² but the Prophets never

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 113 ff. At first sight it might seem that this application is made in the frequent condemnation of the 'sluggard' in Proverbs, for it is the lazy ryot that this book of the people has in view, and not the idle rich. But sloth is stigmatized in these passages almost wholly as cursing, not a man's employer, but himself and his home, for the typical Hebrew ryot tilled his own land. Prov. x. 26, however, does suggest the truth that an employé's sloth wrongs his employer.

² Prov. xi. 18, xii. 11, xiii. 11 (R.V. marg.), 23.

admitted this. They required of the city the morality of agriculture. They preached that every sort of human life, novel as well as old-fashioned, could and must be brought under the sway of Righteousness.

A final illustration of this, as well as of the whole Prophetic teaching about wealth, may be found in Ezekiel's oracle against Tyre.¹ This matchless description of ancient Oriental commerce is in several ways significant. It assumes that Tyre and its wealth are creatures of Jehovah, that wealth is a true but a dangerous good, that its danger is the denial of responsibility to God, and that to usurp the stewardship of riches, to treat them as 'one's own,' is treachery and doom: 'Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyre, Thus saith the Lord God: Because thine heart is lifted up, and thou hast said, I am a god, I sit in the seat of God, in the midst of the seas; yet thou art man, and not God . . . by thy wisdom and by thine understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and hast gotten gold and silver into thy treasures; . . . therefore thus saith the Lord God: . . . Behold I will bring strangers upon thee, and . . . they shall bring thee down to the pit; and thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain in the heart of the seas. . . . I have spoken it, saith the Lord God.' To what a pitch of confidence had this exile of a tiny people brought its faith in its God when he treated the riches of the alien metropolis of the world's commerce as but Jehovah's trust! Ezekiel taught that *Tyre's* wealth was a sacrament.

¹ Ezek. xxvii., xxviii.; cf. p. 98.

D. Four Types of Toiler

Of ways to get 'unwelcome work' done four may be distinguished in the story of the Hebrew Monarchy. Of these four two—slavery and hire—have already been named several times. They obtained throughout the historical periods covered by the Bible. In the instance of hire some of the facts that appear in Deuteronomy, a book written in the time of the Kings, were noticed in the last chapter.¹ This book, being in the main a book of the 'changeless' village, illustrates the way in which the social phenomena of the various periods of Hebrew history may 'overlap.' A third way of securing the doing of distasteful but necessary work was the way of 'task-work,' imposed by the State willy-nilly upon some or all of its subjects. Historically this has had various forms. There are obscure hints that it obtained in some form in Israel before the Kings.² There are other obscure hints that it was used in more ways than one under the Kings. Of the fourth way of solving the problem of toil, by the voluntary service of freemen, there is only a small first instance within the period.

Slavery of the family type was normal in Hebrew households throughout the Monarchy. The day was still distant when any one should dream that bondage was not as natural and integral an element in society as marriage or nationality. The type of bondage was still the one that obtained in the agricultural household, and the slave was still a member of the family. For instance, Deuteronomy appoints the bondservants

¹ pp. 73 f.² Note 4.

a share in the joy of the family feasts,¹ and Proverbs makes the welfare of his 'maidens' a part of a frugal farmer's care.² The former of these books follows Exodus in arranging for the case of a Hebrew bondman who so 'loves his master' that, when the year of his liberation comes, he prefers bondage to freedom,³ while the latter has a 'saw' as well about faithful as refractory slaves.⁴ The story of Naaman, an alien and an enemy, pictures a captive maid as anxious for her heathen master's weal, and Naaman's slaves address him as 'My father.'⁵

There are several hints, however, that there were great differences in the treatment of slaves, and that some stood higher in the household than others. The terms 'young men' and 'maidens' (נערות, נערים) could be used both of bond and free, like 'servant,' but seem never to be used of menial service.⁶ Proverbs waxes cynical over the folly of bringing up a slave 'delicately';⁷ the writer of Lamentations wails bitterly because his captive brethren are set under bondmen, and it is easy to imagine with how scornful a welcome they would be greeted by the older slaves.⁸ A faithful bondman might be set over a whole household, as the case of Ziba shows⁹; and bondservants were on occasion, even when there were sons, among their master's heirs.¹⁰

¹ e.g. xii. 12, xvi. 11.

² Prov. xxvii. 27.

³ Deut. xv. 16; cf. Exod. xxi. 5 f.

⁴ Prov. xxvii. 18, xxix. 19, 21 (R.V. marg.).

⁵ 2 Kings v. 3, 13.

⁶ Their use of bondservants seems clear in such passages as 1 Sam. ix. 3 ff.; Ruth ii. 8.

⁷ Prov. xxix. 21.

⁸ Lam. v. 8. Cf. Leighton's picture of 'Andromache at the Well.

⁹ 2 Sam. ix. 2 ff.; cf. Prov. xvii. 2.

¹⁰ Prov. xvii. 2, xxx. 23; 2 Sam. xvi. 4.

A woman was not denied the status of a wife because she had been carried captive or purchased,¹ and a bondman might wed a free woman.² Again, in the East the royal household has always been the slave's climax of opportunity. He might, in effect, be the king's minister. Proverbs adverts upon the unseemliness of the predominance of a slave at Court and the insolence of such a favourite.³ The slaves of the wealthy were often eunuchs. Jeremiah implies that a royal eunuch might not only control slaves, but set them free⁴; Ebed-melech, a foreign eunuch, could expostulate with the king against the princes, and give order to 'thirty men.'⁵ At the other extreme came the meanest of the menials, the 'hewers of wood' and the 'drawers of water,' the slaves that loosed the returning master's sandals and washed the filth from his feet.⁶

The fact, however, that still most clearly distinguished ancient slavery from modern was the use of the term for 'bondman' (עֶבֶד) of the service of the free.⁷ In the documents of the Monarchy it occurs indifferently of a farmer's bondservant or of the 'prince' in a king's retinue.⁸ It is impossible to imagine that the

¹ Deut. xxi. 10 ff.; Hos. iii. 2.

² This seems the most natural explanation of the peculiar verse 2 Sam. xvii. 25 (reading 'Ishmaelite' with 1 Chron. ii. 17), and an explicit case occurs in 1 Chron. ii. 34 f. (cf. p. 35). Cf. Code of Hammurabi, § 175 f. (Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Addl. Vol., p. 605).

³ Prov. xix. 10, xxx. 22. ⁴ Jer. xxxiv. 8 f., 19. ⁵ Jer. xxxviii. 7 ff.

⁶ Deut. xxi. 11; Joshua ix. 21 ff.; 1 Sam. xxv. 41; Ps. lx. 8.

⁷ Cf. pp. 35 f.

⁸ See the *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, *sub voce*. Perhaps this comes out most forcibly in passages where both senses occur in one breath (e.g. 1 Sam. xxv. 10, 41; 2 Sam. xix. 25; 2 Kings v. 25 f.). The word is also found of the service of freemen to others than the king, e.g. 1 Sam. xxv. 41; 2 Kings ii. 16, iv. 1. The term for 'young man' shares this ambiguity.

ordinary name for the retainers of a mediaeval monarch should have been 'the king's serfs,' or that the slave-owners in America should have submitted to be called any one's 'slaves' at all.

It is probable that freemen became slaves and possible that slaves became free more frequently in Israel than in the modern instance of negro slavery. This is likely both *prima facie*, since the barrier of colour was wanting among the Hebrews, and from the relevant passages. A man might be born a slave, of course,¹ or he might become one through capture or by selling himself. There are many passages to show that slaves were often war-captives, and so foreigners.² Amos marked a point in the evolution of humanity when he denounced the practice of reducing 'a whole captivity'—men, women, and children—to slavery.³ But, apart from the captives of a campaign, the kidnapping of the free to sell to alien bondage was common. The Edomites had an evil notoriety as traders in slaves,⁴ and it would be in such markets as theirs that the man-stealing Israelite would dispose of his brother for gain. Deuteronomy, like Exodus, decreed death for this crime.⁵ On the other hand, it was long legitimate for a creditor to sell a man and his children for debts.⁶ This practice also Amos seems first to have denounced.⁷ Such slaves would not be foreigners, but Hebrews.⁸ The last of Deuteronomy's grim series of woes is that of a man who is worse off than a slave. The writer

¹ e.g. Jer. ii. 14; Prov. xxix. 21.

² e.g. 1 Sam. xxx. 13; 2 Kings v. 2; Deut. xx. 14; Lam. v. 13.

³ Amos i. 6, 9.

⁴ Amos i. 6, 9.

⁵ Deut. xxiv. 7; Exod. xxi. 16.

⁶ 2 Kings iv. 1.

Amos ii. 6, viii. 6.

⁷ Cf. Deut. xv. 12 ff.

pictures Hebrews pitiably offering themselves for sale in the cities of their enemies, but they are 'a glut on the market' and none thinks them worth their keep: they cannot even be slaves.¹

A slave might become free in three ways,—by inheritance, as illustrated above; by ordinary manumission²; by successful flight.³ Shimei, surviving greater dangers, fell at last because he thought two fugitive slaves so precious that he risked his neck for them.⁴ From this passage it follows that even a foreign city would sometimes yield a fugitive bondman to his master,⁵ while the Code of Hammurabi made the helping or harbouring of an escaped slave a capital offence.⁶ It was, therefore, a distinct step in advance when Deuteronomy enacted that a fugitive bondman should go free in the city of his flight.⁷ Other details in which this Code took the side rather of the slave than the master are the insistence on the Sabbath as the slave's leisure, and the privilege accorded to the 'desired woman' among the prey.⁸ Again, the command already laid down in the Exodus—that an enslaved Hebrew should go free in the seventh year—is repeated, with the addition that he should not go 'empty,' but be 'furnished' 'liberally' with sheep and corn and wine.⁹ These

¹ Deut. xxviii. 68.

² Jer. ii. 20, xxxiv. 9 ff.

³ 1 Sam. xxv. 10; Judges xii. 4.

⁴ 1 Kings ii. 39 f.

⁵ Cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 15.

⁶ Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Addl. Vol., p. 600, §§ 16, 19; cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 62 f.

⁷ Deut. xxiii. 15 f.

⁸ Deut. v. 14 f., xxi. 10 ff.

⁹ Deut. xv. 12 ff. The 'Book of the Covenant,' however, suggests that every such slave served six years (Exod. xxi. 2), while a parallel Sabbatic passage in Deuteronomy (Deut. xv. 9) implies that the Sabbatic year fell for all Israel at fixed septennial intervals. In that

details seem to mean, not only that he was to be supplied with food for the first days of his freedom, but with means to 'stock' his land, for unless he were to cease to be a slave only to become a hireling, there was no way for him to live without land in a Hebrew village. This in turn would imply that his ancestral land had all along remained his. The old custom of the inalienability of land, therefore, though often infringed,¹ was not extinct. In this edict and in Amos' oracles there is the temper whose last achievement could only be the abolition of slavery. Jeremiah's vindication even of a slave's right shows it too.²

The passages where the terms 'hire' and 'hireling' (שוכר, שכר) occur carry several implications³—that it was usual under the Kings, as earlier,⁴ for a master to exact all he could from wage-earners, and for them to render a grudging service; that on the whole the advantage still lay on the master's side, and that a freeman should only adopt this manner of life when driven to it by want; and probably that the 'hireling's' status was only next above the bondman's, and his lot sometimes even more miserable. Deuteronomy and Jeremiah assert his rights. The Deuteronomic instance has been drawn out above.⁵ While a 'ger' might flourish in exceptional circumstances,⁶ the general assump-

case, of course, a Hebrew who sold himself might serve for any less period than seven years. (Cf. p. 59.)

¹ pp. 104 f.

² Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff.

³ Deut. xv. 18, xxiv. 14 f.; 1 Sam. ii. 5; Prov. xi. 18, xxvi. 10; Isa. xvi. 14, xxi. 16. Cf. Gen. xxx. 16; Judges xviii. 4; Exod. ii. 9; Ruth ii. 12; 1 Kings v. 6; Prov. x. 16; Jer. xxii. 13 (other Hebrew terms).

⁴ pp. 72 ff.

⁵ p. 104.

⁶ Deut. xxviii. 43.

tion is that he was poor and helpless. Again, while he might be of Hebrew stock,¹ he was usually an alien and often of Canaanite origin.²

But he was a worshipper of Jehovah, and the old idea still held that therefore to 'oppress' him was un-Hebrew.³ How far this concept might lead appears from a passage in Ezekiel.⁴ In that prophet's vision of the perfect Israel of the future the 'ger's' original and fundamental disability was to be undone, and he was to share with the Hebrew born in the holy soil itself. In other words, in a perfect society there would be no hirelings.

The third type of toiler was the man 'pressed for' the 'levy.' The royal 'levy' for the building of fortresses, temples, and palaces, and sometimes for the making of roads, was a constant feature in ordinary Eastern despotism. It was a form of conscription. As the king had the right to summon every man to fight in public defence, so he claimed the right to 'impress' him to toil at public works. This right was well founded—since, for instance, the walled city that every man helped to build was every man's refuge in invasion—but its abuse was so easy as to be inevitable. In Israel the right was apparently already exercised by David,⁵ but the full organization of the 'levy' and the great Hebrew illustration of its onerousness fell under Solomon. The price of his magnificence was his people's sweat: 'And King Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty

¹ Deut. xxiv. 14.

² B. D. S., pp. 89 ff., 102 f.

³ B. D. S., pp. 91 ff.

⁴ Ezek. xlvii. 22 f.

⁵ 2 Sam. xx. 24.

thousand men. . . . And this is the reason of the levy which King Solomon raised; for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer.¹ Here the 'levy' is the '*corvée*' full grown. Probably it was against it, as well as against taxation, that the ten tribes protested on the accession of Rehoboam, and it was that king's most precious piece of folly that he chose the levy-master Adoram to recall them to allegiance. This was to flourish his promised 'scorpion' in their faces. The error cost Adoram his life and Rehoboam his kingdom.² The Israelites had not forgotten that the Lord had delivered them from just this kind of servitude when by Moses He broke the yoke of Egypt.³ They who praise great Eastern buildings usually forget their cost. No Israelite king rivalled Solomon's buildings, for none dared again to impose so severe a 'levy.'⁴ This story shows how in Hebrew thought a second kind of labour, the building of city walls and great men's houses, had long taken its place alongside the task of agriculture as a type of unwelcome work.⁵

Yet, though no Hebrew king built like Solomon, there would always be a certain amount of unwelcome 'public work' to be done in Israel as in every other state. For instance, while many 'roads' were mere tracks worn by the feet of travellers, and while it is unlikely that the making

¹ 1 Kings v. 13, ix. 15.

² 1 Kings xii.

³ Exod. xx. 2; cf. i. 11.

⁴ Jer. xxii. 13 ff. perhaps comes nearest to it, but here a pettier practice seems intended, and at least the Prophet assumes it to be an admitted wrong.

⁵ Cf. pp. 69, 71.

of 'high-roads' was carried on in any wide or systematic way, it is certain that there were some artificially constructed 'king's highways.'¹ Again, the Books of Kings tell that Hezekiah made a reservoir and a conduit, and so 'brought water into' Jerusalem.² Other passages refer to the 'building' or fortifying of royal cities,³ and the 'walls' of Jerusalem and the northern capitals would need constant repair. Who did this kind of work in Israel after the division of the kingdom? What little evidence there is suggests that part of it at least fell to a 'task-gang' of alien origin.⁴ A further question remains. Modern nations usually support their kings by an annual contribution of money, drawn from 'the taxes,' but in earlier times kings and their retinue have often 'lived on' their subjects in a literal sense. They have claimed a more or less fixed proportion of their subjects' possessions, and have 'impressed' their meaner subjects to do the tasks that inevitably attach to such institutions as a royal household and an executive government. Once more, it is clear how justifiable such practices might be, and how easy their abuse. A Deuteronomic passage⁵ shows that in Israel both the practices and their abuse prevailed. It blends together customs that later times have distinguished as 'just' and 'unjust,' treating both alike as the inevitable but unhappy consequences of Monarchy. The 'pressing' of men for the king's guard and of women for the king's kitchen, the use of 'forced labour' both

¹ Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, Addl. Vol., p. 369.

² 2 Kings xx. 20.

³ e.g. 1 Kings xii. 25, xv. 17-22, xvi. 24; 2 Kings xiv. 22.

⁴ Note 4.

⁵ 1 Sam. viii. 10-18; cf. Deut. xvii. 14-20.

to plough the king's land and to make his 'instruments of war,' the seizing of a 'tenth' of the land's produce to feed 'the king's servants' and of land itself to reward them, all alike present themselves to the Deuteronomist as the 'necessary evils' of kingship. A single verse puts in contrast its two great services—leadership in war and justice in peace.¹ From this description it is clear that a mitigated kind of 'task-work' obtained in Israel even after Solomon. While free Israelites never again submitted to the rigorous and sustained *corvée* of his time, they might still 'have to work' for the king. No way but coercion had yet been found for getting the unwelcome work of the meaner 'public services' done.

Was there no thought yet of any way of compassing the problem of toil than the coercion of slavery, of hire, or of 'task-work'? It has been seen above² that with the rise of cities there began to be a new kind of 'wages system,' wherein a man willingly engaged himself. But this was to do welcome work. The true problem is not with this, but with distasteful toil. Is there no hint yet of the idea that some might *voluntarily* undertake unwelcome work for the love of their fellows? There is just the first hint. A term 'to minister' (שרת) is found which connotes a freeman's *willing* service. While it occurs of the free personal attendants of the royal house,³ its characteristic use is of the man who voluntarily 'ministered' to a great Prophet as a disciple to his master. The 'leading cases' are

¹ 1 Sam. viii. 20.

² pp. 96 f.

³ 2 Sam. xiii. 17 f.; 1 Kings i. 4, x. 5.

Joshua's ministry to Moses and Elisha's to Elijah.¹ That this ministry included menial service appears from the description of Elisha as 'he that poured water on the hands of Elijah.'² The relation of 'minister' to Prophet seems to have been like that of a Hindu 'chela' to his 'guru.' He was a favourite disciple, who of his own free will³ followed and served a Prophet, enjoying in return his intimate teaching, and becoming on his death Prophet 'in his room.' Again, it may be that within the communities of 'the sons of the Prophets' there was neither slave nor hireling.⁴ If so, these religious brotherhoods furnished a first instance of that willing and home-like co-operation of the members of a community in labour that is the final ideal until all toil pass. At any rate a 'minister' was distinctively a man who *chose to serve*.

E. A Prosperous Nation

If, now, it were asked what goal the Prophets set before them on the side of property, the main element in the answer would be 'The prosperity of the nation.' It is true that at this period the relation between Righteousness and prosperity, at least in the minds of the nobler Israelites, began to change.⁵ 'Of old time' Righteousness had been thought of as the means to prosperity.

¹ Exod. xxiv. 13; Joshua i. 1, &c.; 1 Kings xix. 21; cf. 2 Kings ii. 3, 12. There are other cases in 2 Kings iv. 43, vi. 15. Is it accident that Gehazi is not called 'minister' but 'young man' (2 Kings iv. 12, v. 20; cf. 1 Kings xix. 3)?

² 2 Kings iii. 11.

³ 1 Kings xix. 19 f.

⁴ Cf. 2 Kings iv. 39 f., 43, vi. 1 ff. Yet cf. 2 Kings v. 26. For a poor home without bondmen see 2 Kings iv. 1 ff.

⁵ *B. D. S.*, pp. 158 f.

Now the concept deepened, and as it deepened Righteousness became the end and ceased to be a means. Prosperity sank to be its sequel. Still, it was held to be the inevitable sequel. Every Prophet preached that if Israel were righteous it was sure to prosper. This is so uniformly the burden of Monarchic prophecy that it is superfluous to quote illustrations. The Deuteronomist frequently proclaims the same truth. Indeed, this might be called 'the message of Deuteronomy.' For the 'Wise Man' of Proverbs, too, it was axiomatic, though he applied it usually rather to the individual than to the nation. In every document of the period prosperity is reckoned a desirable thing, the proper condition of a righteous people. This is not argued, but assumed as obvious. And by 'prosperity' the Hebrew still meant a wide wealth. A prosperous nation, in his view, was a nation that was able abundantly to satisfy all its natural needs. These were defined, of course, according to the ideas of the time. Even in cities prosperity was still conceived chiefly in agricultural terms, for if the 'fruit' of the 'mountains' shook 'like Lebanon,' 'they of the city' flourished 'like grass of the earth.'¹ Israel's ideal was still non-ascetic. She still hoped to be rich; she still loved leisure.

Again, Israel still thought of prosperity as the gift of Jehovah, and still believed that He made a claim in return for it. He gave to Israel on condition that Israel did His will. The last was now better known and more adequately defined as Righteousness, but in other respects the old

¹ Ps. lxxii.

concept held. And when poverty befell Israel, this disaster, like others, was held to be the consequence of disobedience. This, again, is too frequent an idea to need illustration. It implies that property still embodied a relation to God.¹

The distinctions of the time were three. The first was the Prophets' appeal to the principle of Righteousness, rather than to ancient custom and mere law, to settle the social problems of their day. The second was their insistence on the responsibility of privilege. These have perhaps been sufficiently laid out above. The third distinction was that the dominant social unit in the minds of the thinkers of the Monarchy was the nation. In the Patriarchal story the family had been the dominant unit of thought; in the history of the days before the Kings the village claimed the primary place; under the Monarchy the emphasis shifted to the nation. This does not mean, of course, that one social unit absorbed attention in a given period, but that it held the principal place in men's thoughts. A prosperous home, a prosperous village, a prosperous nation — these phrases severally summarize the ruling concept in Israel's ideal about property in the first three Old Testament periods.

It will be seen that these three concepts bear a given relation to each other. The prosperity of a village built upon the prosperity of the families that composed it; the prosperity of the nation, again, built upon that of its villages. If the ideal of the Monarchy had been the prosperity, not of the nation, but of the city, there might have arisen, at least among the

¹ Cf. pp. 48 ff.

short-sighted, a conflict between its prosperity and that of the villages. And most people are short-sighted, as the above study¹ illustrates. But, while the coming of the city brought with it the characteristic social problems of the period, and while the prosperity of the city was usually a *part* of the Prophetic anticipation of a perfect future, it was never the whole of it. In the Prophets' ideal picture the city was just the capital of the nation. Its prosperity was an important part of their glowing expectations, but it was not the whole. They 'looked for' a prosperous nation, and this required the prosperity of the village, as the latter did in turn of the family.

Further, just as in the epoch when the village was the dominant social unit the underlying demand of the teachers of Israel tended to be that the ethics of the family should obtain in the village,² so the demand of the Prophets really was that the ethics of the village should obtain in the nation.³ It is true that they discovered and made patent the principle that had lain latent in the ancient village practice,—true, too, that they applied it in new and more thorough ways,—yet at bottom their demand was that between the city and the village, the rich and the poor, the 'classes' and the 'masses,' there should be practised the same responsible brotherhood as between the families in a village. And, as this was 'brotherhood,' and so took its type from home, the issue ultimately was, in essence, that a nation ought to be a great family and practise the ethics of home. Even though the

¹ pp. 87 ff., 97 ff.

² e.g. pp. 56 ff.

³ Cf. pp. 115 f.

Prophets only rarely and dimly discerned this, it was so in fact. As with the earlier teachers of Israel, so with them, there was something deeper in their teaching than they knew.

The variability of standards of behaviour will now be recalled.¹ Before the Kings a Hebrew had, in practice, tended to discriminate between the rights of a brother, a neighbour, an alien, and an enemy. Such distinctions appear in all societies. This is not the place to discuss how far they are justifiable and how far blameworthy. The aim of the earlier Israelite teachers had, in effect, been to do away with the distinction between the rights of a neighbour and a brother, and the ground of their endeavour had been the common relation of Hebrew neighbours to Jehovah. But for them a 'neighbour' was principally and practically another Hebrew of the same village. The Prophets, again in effect, enlarged the scope of the word to include every Hebrew, whether of the same village or not. This had always been its definition in theory, but the practice of the theory had been intermittent and feeble. During the Monarchy new perils beset Israel. The Monarchy itself arose in order to meet them, and with it a closer national unity. The Prophets met the new circumstances by the claim that every man within the nation was every other man's neighbour, and so his brother. They made war upon the variability in standards of behaviour within Israel, and they did so on the old ground. Their every oracle opened with the challenge, 'Thus saith the Lord.' They demanded that a common

¹ pp. 68 f.

religion should issue in the national practice of a responsible brotherhood.

But what of the alien and the enemy? Was there any change in the standard of behaviour to them? It has been seen that Israel learnt the very commerce and art and luxury that marked city life under the Kings from the foreigner. Further, as the Monarchy wore on Israel became more and more involved in 'world politics,' until she fell into vassalage first to Assyria and then to Babylon. The Prophets had much to say about her 'foreign policy,' and even about the 'policy' of other nations, as a long series of oracles about alien 'powers' shows.¹ Indeed, the concept that all mankind ought to be one great society of nations had now its first instances.² It would therefore seem not unnatural to look for change in the standard of behaviour to the alien on the side of 'wealth and work.' Yet there is no evidence of such change, or next to none. Indeed, there is no account of the way in which daily intercourse was carried on with the alien at all. Yet there must have been daily intercourse in Jerusalem with foreign merchants and craftsmen. The truth seems to be that the Prophets had no interest in this particular problem. Even they did not undertake to 'reform' everything. Once or twice the large concept of a prosperous world 'swam into their ken,'³ but usually their thought stopped with a prosperous nation. And

¹ Cf. pp. 115 f.

² *B. D. S.*, pp. 116 ff., 150 ff.

³ The best instances are from Isaiah (ii. 2-4, xi. 1-9, xix. 19-25), but, then, the universal outlook of these passages is just one of the grounds on which some scholars assign them to the post-Monarchic period.

even the exceptional passages do not 'con-
descend to detail.' Here Deuteronomy has in-
deed two relevant edicts. On the one hand
it has a hint of mercy for a captive alien
woman¹; on the other, it permits with an
alien the practice of usury, though it forbids
it with an Israelite.² But, in reality, in the
doctrine of the Monarchy on the subjects of
this book the alien is ignored. The exceptions
are too insignificant to count. The Prophetic
ideal in relation to property was the prosperity
of a righteous nation, and the nation was Israel.

¹ p. 121.

² Deut. xxiii. 20.

IV

ISRAEL AFTER THE KINGS

A. A 'Day of Small Things'

As the Hebrew Monarchy drew to its close the little Jewish state became more and more intimately connected with 'world politics.' This process was completed at the Fall of Jerusalem. Thereafter the Jews were in part scattered among the provinces of an alien empire and in part concentrated in the one small province of that empire that had been their nation's ancient home. Most of the documents of the period have to do with the Jews of Palestine rather than with the 'Dispersion.' Even in Palestine, however, the alien was ever with them. They were almost continuously under foreign sway, and people of other blood elbowed them in the Holy Land.¹ The Priestly documents have a new term—'toshabh'—for a foreigner who 'dwelt' in Israel.² He is named both alongside the 'hireling'³ and alongside the 'ger'⁴ as distinct from them.⁵ The distinction, however, is not very clear, for this kind of 'sojourner' seems to have been sometimes connected with a Hebrew household in much the same way as a 'ger,'⁶ and,

¹ e.g. Neh. iv. 26.

² e.g. Lev. xxii. 10, xxv. 6.

³ e.g. Lev. xxv. 40.

⁴ e.g. Lev. xxv. 6.

⁵ The fact that 'hireling' (שכיר) and 'ger' (גר) do not similarly occur together shows that they were still usually identical.

⁶ e.g. Lev. xxii. 10.

indeed, the verb 'sojourn' (נִיר) could be used of him.¹ Perhaps the 'ger' was a sojourner whose fathers had long dwelt in Israel, and the 'toshabh' was a new-comer. Or perhaps the latter's 'sojourn' was temporary, whereas that of the 'ger' was perpetual.² The relation of the 'ger' to Israel may therefore have been the closer. It was now decreed that he was to have equal rights with the 'neighbour' of Hebrew race.³ This marks the close of a long evolution. 'The 'toshabh,' on the other hand, is once at least put with the 'nations round about' in contrast with Israel. There would be yet a third kind of alien in Palestine, and especially in Jerusalem, for, apart from the exceptional episode of Nehemiah's rule, the city was the seat of an alien governor, with his retinue and its complement of 'hangers-on.' The stories of Ezra and Nehemiah's crusade against the taking of wives of foreign blood bear witness in yet another way to the interpenetration of the alien with Israel.⁴ Again, while the 'gerim' were still usually poor,⁵ one passage in Leviticus significantly assumes that a 'ger,' as well as a 'toshabh,' might be wealthy.⁶ This would commonly occur either by the acquisition of land or by the practice of commerce, or both. This leads to a further fact. The Jew himself, in the Dispersion, as he would usually find it hard or impossible to acquire land, began at this time to betake himself to other ways of earning a living than agriculture, and Jews of the Dispersion

¹ Lev. xxv. 45.

² Lev. xix. 33 f., xxiv. 22.

³ Lev. xxv. 44-46.

⁴ e.g. Lev. xix. 10, xxiii. 22.

⁵ *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, *sub voce*.

⁶ pp. 72 ff., 122 f.

⁷ Cf. Lev. xxii. 25.

⁸ Lev. xxv. 47.

came and went in Palestine. It is therefore probable that, while the majority of the inhabitants of Judea still lived by tillage, the variety of occupations, especially in the cities, would be greater than ever. A Note names some of them.¹ It is consonant with this that urban property was now distinguished from village property.² On the other hand, in the sorry plight of Israel at this time most of the Jews would be poor. This would mean that few of them owned many slaves, and, therefore, that the number of free-men driven to the task-work of agriculture was large. Both the pressure of the alien and the poverty of the Hebrew would make it hard for the little community of Jews to maintain itself. Its determination to do so almost of necessity made it particularist and exclusive. This is the tenor of such representative books as Ezra and Leviticus. The protest of such men as the writer of Jonah was no more than a protest.³ The very term 'particularism' implies the persistence of the old difference in the standard of behaviour towards a Hebrew and an alien respectively.⁴ For instance, it was now expressly stated that purchased foreign slaves, unlike those of Hebrew birth, were to be 'bondmen' for ever.⁵ On the other hand, the struggle of the little Jewish community to maintain a distinct identity drew its own members more closely together than in any other historic epoch. Every man of Hebrew stock, every worshipper of Jehovah, was

¹ Note 6.

² Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 209 ff.

³ Lev. xxv. 39-46.

⁴ Lev. xxv. 29, 31.

⁵ pp. 68, 131 f.

now fully a 'neighbour.' There was also a greater approximation to equality than under the Kings, and a further and final development of individualism. The grounds of these statements are more fully set out elsewhere.¹ The worth of every man, merely because he was a man, was now recognized. Here was the point of progress in social doctrine. In this epoch Israel worked out clearly for itself the belief that every man is made 'in the image of God'; in this epoch, too, it first fully enunciated the principle, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'²

These are great principles, and it is clear that the second has logically many applications to the subjects of wealth and work. Yet about these the teaching of the time hardly does more than repeat the past. The truth is that at this period Judaism, spending its strength in resisting alien pressure, had little left for progress. Its temper was almost inevitably conservative. There is a good instance in the 'reforms' of Nehemiah. These all aimed at the practice of old laws.³ The chief changes were in the elaboration of ritual. In the doctrine of work there was, indeed, a kind of semi-conscious advance, as is shown in the next section, but on other subjects pertinent to the present study—such as prosperity, usury, alms, land, slavery—Israel for the most part 'marked time.' It would be tedious to lay out again the old doctrines. Some of the passages that illustrate them are gathered in an Additional Note.⁴ Here it will be enough to notice the

¹ *B. D. S.*, iv. A.

² e.g. *Neh.* v. 1 ff., x. 29 ff., xiii. 15 ff.

³ *B. D. S.*, iv. B., C.

⁴ Note 5.

few and small points of change. One, 'the evolution of the rights of the "ger,"' has already been noted.¹

Perhaps the most obvious change is the introduction of the 'year of jubile.'² The custom of the Sabbath remained, and the custom of leaving land fallow in the seventh or Sabbatic year, but the law which enacted that a Hebrew slave should be set at liberty after seven years' service³ seems increasingly to have proved impracticable.⁴ At any rate, in the Levitical Code there is found a new rule—that every *fiftieth* year all Hebrew slaves who have been born free should be set at liberty. Side by side with this there appears the edict that in this 'year of jubile' all land that had been sold should revert to its ancestral owners. This implies that usually a Hebrew who sold himself had already sold his land. The passage also implies that the old rule of kinsman's redemption now sometimes broke down⁵; that when a man had sold his land he sometimes became a 'ger' or 'toshabh' and not a slave⁶; and that the lot of the 'hireling' was now usually more desirable than that of the slave.⁷ Another text requires that some 'hirelings' were now hired by the year,⁸ and that their position was better than that of the old day labourer.⁹ Besides, the multiplication of handicrafts would increase the number of those who did not live immediately on the land, but *chose* to be wage-earners.¹⁰ It is perhaps

¹ p. 135.

² pp. 58, 121.

³ Lev. xxv. 25 ff.

⁴ Lev. xxv. 39 f.

⁵ pp. 57 f.

⁶ Lev. xxv.

⁷ Cf. Jer. xxxiv. 8 ff.; Neh. v.

⁸ Lev. xxv. 35.

⁹ Lev. xxv. 53.

¹⁰ Cf. pp. 96 f. and Note 6 (d).

necessary again to say that it must not be hastily assumed that the Sabbath ordinances of Israel were never practised. The very introduction of a new law suggests that a new practice was sought in new conditions. The Jew was not by nature a mere theorist. Further, the careful way in which the rights of the purchaser are measured in the law of 'jubile' suggests practice rather than theory. So do the exceptions made in favour of the purchaser if he bought urban property, and in favour of the vendor if he were a Levite. In any case, there lies behind the edicts the old ideal that an Israelite's liberty and land ought both to be inalienable.¹ The ground of this ideal was still the old religious one—'The land shall not be sold in perpetuity; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.'² The only absolute owner was still the Lord.

Another change was in the position of the Levite. His claim to support had once ranked with the claim of the 'ger,' the 'fatherless,' and the 'widow,' but under the Kings it had gradually gained a kind of precedence.³ In the same period the differentiation of Priest from Levite had begun. Both processes were now completed. The claim of the whole order to support was admitted; it was a claim, no longer to a pittance, but to full maintenance; the ground of the claim was not, as it might be to-day, that the order rendered a service to the people, but that it rendered a service to God.⁴ There is here an

¹ Cf. Lev. xxv. 44-46; Num. xxvii. 8-11.

² Lev. xxv. 23.

³ p. 112.

⁴ Exod. xxix. 28, xxx. 12 ff., xxxv. 21 ff.; Lev. ii. 3, 10, vii. 7 ff.; Num. xviii. 8 ff.; Neh. xiii. 10 ff.

early instance of the right of a 'specialized' class to livelihood, even though its members do not themselves 'work on the land,' and 'produce' material 'commodities.'

About poverty itself the distinctive mark of the documents of this period is this—the poor man now first pleads his own cause.¹ As has already been seen, the majority of the Hebrews were now for the first time poor. In their little land—apart, again, from such exceptional periods as the governorship of Nehemiah—riches fell to the alien ruler and his minions. For a Jew to grow rich would mark him for spoliation, and so he would sink again to the common level of his extorted neighbours. Ordinary taxation was so heavy that to meet it many mortgaged their land and sold their children.² At such a time the term that had long meant indifferently 'poor' or 'meek' became commoner than ever, and the assumption universal that the poor were the same as the righteous.³ Similarly, several Psalms imply that the poor were the Israelites and their oppressors the alien.⁴ There being now usually neither prophet nor lawgiver to assert their rights, the poor began in many a Psalm to urge their own plea with God. In its predominant form, however, this plea is not in expression the plea of a Jew against an alien, nor of a chosen against a reprobate race, but the plea of a poor and nameless man direct to God for his rights, a

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 200, 372.

² Neh. v.

³ e.g. Isa. lxi. 1, lxvi. 2, xxvi. 6; Ps. x. 8–18, xxii., xxiv., xxvi., xxxiv. 2, 6, xxxvii. 11, 14; Zech. ii. 7, 11; cf. p. 97.

⁴ e.g. in Ps. ix. the 'poor' (v. 12) are set over against the 'nations.' Cf. Ps. x. 16, xiv. 6 ff., xxv. 22, cvii. 40, cxlix. 6 ff.

plea placed on the confident assumption that Jehovah not only admitted his rights, but was their proper and willing guardian. 'For the spoiling of the poor, for the sighing of the needy now will I arise, saith the Lord'¹; 'This poor man cried and the Lord heard him, and saved him out of all his troubles'²; 'But I am poor and needy; yet the Lord thinketh upon me.'³ 'Bow down Thine ear, O Lord, and answer me; for I am poor and needy'⁴; 'He raiseth up the poor out of the dust, and lifteth up the needy out of the dung-hill; that He may set him with princes, even with the princes of his people'⁵; 'I know that the Lord will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the needy.'⁶ Similarly the hundred and forty-sixth Psalm makes the Lord's mercies to the poor the complement of His creation of the universe. Behind all such texts there is the strong practical faith that every man, as man, has worth for God—a faith appropriate to the era that declared every man to be made 'in the image of God.'⁷ Here, in a new way, is the implication that all men have a right to self-realization, to be what God meant them to be.⁸

Again, new grounds were found for the ancient institution of the weekly Sabbath. In earlier days it had been based on altruism, and this was natural so long as the chief stress lay upon the Sabbath's leisure,⁹ but now the belief, latent

¹ Ps. xii. 5.

² Ps. xxxiv. 6.

³ Ps. xl. 17.

⁴ Ps. lxxxvi. 1.

⁵ Ps. cxiii. 7 f.

⁶ Ps. cxl. 12; cf. Isa. xli. 17, lxvi. 2, xxxv. 3 ff., xxv. 4; Ps. xxxv. 10, lxxviii. 5, 10, lxix. 29, 32 f., lxx. 5, lxxiv. 19, 21, cix. 21 f., cxlvi. 7-9.

⁷ B. D. S., pp. 195 ff.

⁸ Cf. B. D. S., pp. 174, 200, &c.

pp. 70 f.

before, that the prime use of this leisure ought to be worship became prominent. 'If thou . . . call the Sabbath a delight, . . . and shalt honour it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words, then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord.'¹ This definition of the primary use of leisure marked a clear step forward in the doctrine. With it there went the idea that man's leisure bases on God's—'Six days shall work be done: but on the seventh day is a Sabbath of solemn rest, holy to the Lord; whosoever doeth any work on the Sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death. . . . It is a sign between Me and the children of Israel for ever; for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth and on the seventh day He rested and was refreshed.'² There is here a doctrine of the worth of work—as will appear in the next section—but with it the doctrine that leisure is better, and that the rest of Jehovah was the proper type of the rest of Israel.

About slavery, the last of the Old Testament epochs hardly more than repeated the past, yet it laid, if possible, a greater emphasis than ever on the religious basis of the Hebrew slave's rights. On this ground he was to enjoy the weekly rest, to share in the fruits of the land's Sabbath, and to join in the Passover.* Nehe-

¹ Isa. lviii. 13; cf. Exod. xii. 16, xvi. 21 ff., xxxi. 14 ff., xxxv. 2 f.; Lev. xvi. 31, xix. 3, 30, xxiii. 3, 32, 39; Num. xxix. 7.

² Exod. xxxi. 14 ff.; cf. xx. 11.

* Exod. xx. 10; Lev. xxv. 6 f.; Gen. xvii. 12 f., 26 f.; Exod. xii. 44; cf. Lev. xxii. 10 f. The religious basis comes out in another way in the requirement that a bondman must be circumcised before he kept the Passover. Similarly a 'ger' could only join in this festival if he consented to be circumcised (Exod. xii. 43-49). In earlier days both

miah's brave and significant attempt to practise the ideal of freedom for all Hebrews, and the Levitical Code's regulations for the manumission of Israelite slaves, have already been named.¹ In the two passages in question alms, usury, and slavery occur together. Two passages from Job perhaps best sum up the Old Testament teaching about all three.² A third, about slavery, may be quoted: 'If I did despise the cause of my bondman or of my bondwoman when they contended with me, what then should I do when God riseth up? And when He visiteth what shall I answer Him? *Did not He that made me in the womb make him? And did not One fashion us in the womb?*'³ It was at this time that Israel explicitly stated its great doctrine of creation⁴; how practical a deduction is here! From it the mind passes naturally to the crowning word of the Old Testament about slavery: '*Also upon the bondmen and the bondwomen in those days will I pour out My spirit.*'⁵ Brotherhood in worship must at length either kill slavery or be killed by it.

B. The Transfiguration of Toil

There remains the one change in the thought of post-Monarchic Israel on the subject of 'wealth and work' that needs longer discussion. In

slaves and 'gerim' normally came from nations that practised the rite.

¹ Neh. v.; Lev. xxv. 39-55; cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 10; Isa. lviii. 6, 9.

² Job xxxi. 16 ff., xxiv. 1 ff.

³ Job xxxi. 13.

⁴ Gen. i.

⁵ Joel ii. 29. The LXX insertion of 'My' before the word for 'bondmen' shows how shy readers were of the text and its implications in the days when slavery prevailed.

the wider realm of social doctrine generally three closely related principles were elucidated at this time.¹ Two of these have already been named.² The third was the principle of the responsibility of those who lie under an undeserved disadvantage.³ In other words, disadvantage, even when unmerited, may be elevated into ministry. This became clear in Israel under the pressure of its capital instance, undeserved suffering.⁴ The 'Servant of the Lord' submits undeservedly to suffer for others' sakes. There may plainly be other applications of the principle beside this greatest one. None other, however, was yet *clearly* made. A kind of negative and coercive application may perhaps be discerned in the exclusion of the leper from society—to his undeserved malady law added exile for others' sakes.⁵ But on another and wider subject common thought in the post-Monarchic era began obscurely to feel its way towards the positive application of the principle—the subject of work and leisure.

It has been seen above that the distinction between the bond and the free broadly corresponded 'in old time' with the distinction between the toiler and the 'leisured.'⁶ But 'leisure' was defined, not as 'laziness,' but as 'liberty to choose one's work.' What work ought a free man to choose? The earliest answer of all seems to have been that a free man's fit business was to hunt and fight. Israel, however, even in her earliest historic days, had added to this

¹ *B. D. S.*, chap. iv.

² *B. D. S.*, pp. 213 ff.

³ Lev. xiii. 45 f.; Num. v. 1 ff.

⁴ pp. 134 ff.

⁵ Isa. liii.

⁶ pp. 30 ff.

list, as has appeared above.¹ But she had remained constant to a definition of what was unfit for the free—the task-work of tillage, and the *corvée*. This, however, is a ‘denotative’ and not a ‘connotative’ account. Why was this task-work disliked? The answer is given in three Hebrew terms of which the first means ‘weariness,’ the second ‘pain,’ the third ‘trouble.’² By the post-Monarchic period all were synonyms for the kind of ‘work’ that none would choose. They all describe it, no longer by the external mark that it is ‘the fag of the field,’ but by the inner feeling consequent on the contemplation of any particular enterprise. If any piece of ‘work’ were an irksome task, not a glad undertaking, then it was unfit for a free man. Here, again, there was the elucidation of an idea long implicit. ‘Toil,’ the lot of the slave, has been defined above, in terms of to-day’s thought, as ‘unwelcome work.’ In the last Old Testament period Israel herself practically defined it in that way.

But when thought passes from the concept of ‘toil’ as the task of tillage or *corvée* to that which irks the temper, the fact becomes of moment that the same undertaking may be to one man toilsome and to another welcome, and that even the same man may find the same work at one time a task and at another a delight. For instance, to Koheleth, cribbed in his few acres, denied a ‘career’ suited to his nature, nothing

¹ pp. 34, 70, 126.

² עָיָה, צָרָה, עָמַל see *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, sub *vocibus*, where it is shown *inter alia* that whatever the original etymological significance of the last root may have been in Semitic tongues, its earliest meaning in Hebrew was ‘trouble’ and its later ‘toil.’

seemed worth while.¹ Consequently in set terms he reduced all the usual enterprises of man to the 'weariness' of 'toil.' Indeed, the last of the three terms named (עמל) is, in the sense of 'toil,' almost wholly his. Even to the mental quality called 'wisdom,' so highly prized in the current thought of the time,² Koheleth in set speech denied any worth at all: 'And I applied myself to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all that is done under heaven; it is a sore travail that God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith.'³ Here the word for 'travail' is again distinctive (ענין); it asserts that 'wisdom' is a 'task.' And as for life in general: 'What profit hath man of all his labour wherewith he laboureth under the sun? . . . Vanity of vanities, all is vanity.'⁴ To Koheleth all enterprises seemed irksome. The question follows, Might not all seem to another man befitting? At least theoretically this is so. It seems to follow that, 'if done in the right spirit,' no task necessary for human life need be unwelcome. When once this conclusion is reached, the way to abolish slavery, and, indeed, all coercive work, begins to open, for their *raison d'être* is that some must be forced to tasks that all hold unworthy or irksome. Where there are volunteers for 'drudgery' the coerced drudge disappears. This word 'drudgery' best distinguishes the two kinds of work—

¹ B. D. S., pp. 189 ff.

² The burden of the Book of Proverbs is that 'wisdom' (חכמה) is life.

³ Eccles. i. 13.

⁴ Eccles. i. 3, 2; cf. ii. 18 ff., iii. 13, viii. 16, &c.

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that is held unfit which is felt to be 'drudgery,' that is counted worthy which does not gall.

Post-Monarchic thought, however, did not reach this universal conclusion, but only stole towards it. For instance, the Priests and Levites were probably busier on the Sabbath than on any other day. Further, in the Jewish Temple there fell to their lot, in varying degrees, not only 'spiritual' ministries, but the slaughtering, quartering, and 'offering' of dove, and sheep, and ox, and the number of sacrifices was largest on the Sabbath.¹ Yet these duties were not intermitted by the Sabbath rest; was it not the very worship of God? In other words, for the priestly class, at least in idea, there was no 'toil,' but all their work was true leisure, since it was the willing and worthy service of the Lord. Its higher motive transformed the undeserved disadvantage of Sabbath work into honour.

Here the emergence of a new phrase, translated by the Revisers 'servile work' (מלאכת עבודה), is significant. It means literally 'the business of service.' While some passages still prohibit all 'work' on the Sabbath and at the festivals, others particularize 'servile work.'² It is really Hebrew for 'drudgery.' The implied distinction is that other 'work,' being welcome, was not held inconsistent with leisure. Yet even this very phrase has a contradictory use; it is used also of the work of the artificer and Levite in the building and service of the Tabernacle and

¹ e.g. Num. xxviii. 9 f.

² Lev. xxiii. 7 f., 21, 24 f., 35 f.; Num. xxviii. 18, 25 f., xxix. 1, 12, 35.

Temple.¹ For instance, the skill by which the two famous craftsmen Bezalel and Oholiab had made glorious the 'sanctuary' of the wilderness is said to have been given them by God that they might know 'how to work all [its] servile work.'² There was, of course, no notion of 'drudgery' or degradation in such a task. Already it began to appear that toil might lose its sting. So, again, the simple term for 'service' (עבדה) might be used indifferently of the old, hated task-work in Egypt, whose miraculous end was the birthday of the nation, or of the service of the Lord's worship.³ 'Drudgery' became delight if it were undertaken for the love of God.

The story of the ancient Egyptian servitude of Israel leads to another illustration. The task-work of those far-away days had been the building of Pharaoh's 'store-cities.'⁴ Solomon introduced it into the Hebrew Monarchy with other practices of Eastern despotism.⁵ His temple in particular, like other great Oriental buildings, was built by 'forced labour.' But with the later Temple of Zerubbabel it was otherwise. The little Book of Haggai shows that the homecoming Jews, of their own accord, undertook its rebuilding, and that under the impulse of that prophet's preaching they at length carried it through. Probably in this the Temple of Jehovah was for

¹ Exod. xxxv. 24; 1 Chron. ix. 13, 19, xxviii. 13, 20; 2 Chron. xxiv. 12, and, with slight variations of form, Exod. xxxvi. 5; 1 Chron. xxiii. 24.

² Exod. xxxvi. So, below the bays of the famous half-timbered Hall at Little Moreton, in Cheshire, there is this inscription: 'Richard Dale, carpenter, made these windows by the grace of God.'

³ See *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, where both meanings are seen to be common, the latter, however, unlike the former, being confined to post-Monarchic documents.

⁴ Exod. i. 11.

⁵ pp. 123 f.

ages unique in its world. It was built by freemen. Their zeal slackened at times, but it did not quite fail. For the glory of God Israel willingly stooped to the very kind of task from which He had so signally delivered its fathers. As for the Priest always, so for the lay Israelite in this enterprise, toil ceased to be unwelcome or unworthy, for it was undertaken willingly in the service of God.¹ Here was the old command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God,' in practice, and its practice transfigured work. Religion in a signal instance taught Israel the way to dignify labour. What had been the way of an old Prophet's 'minister'² here became the practice of a people.

Modern thought justifies the worth of work by its service to man, but Israel did not reach this notion directly. Here, once more, as all the above instances show, the Hebrew's primary motive was not the service of man but of the Lord. The modern motive lay nearer in the building of the walls of Jerusalem by freemen for the common safety, yet the *motif* even of the book that tells this story is not so much the love of Israel as of Israel's God.³ The passage that opens the book of Genesis shows how the one motive would lead to the other. One of its characteristic marks is that it presents Creation as the easy-consequence of the mere speech of God. 'He spake, and it was done.' Yet, with a pardonable lack of logic, the Almighty is pictured as 'resting' after the completion of His task. So, not only in an indirect but also

¹ Cf. Exod. xxxvi. 21.

² pp. 126 f.

³ Neh. i. is a leading instance,

in a direct way, the passage declares that leisure is better than toil. But why should the Most High have undertaken labour at all? The answer is, For the love of man. The climax of the Hebrew story of Creation is the making of man and the giving of the goodly and pleasant earth to man to enjoy.¹ To serve man, therefore, was to be like God. Clearly, if man was 'made in God's image',² that which was a worthy 'occupation' for Jehovah must also be so for His people. All was ready for the *explicit* application of the principle of the responsibility of undeserved disadvantage to undeserved toil. This application the New Testament made.³

On comparing the way in which the two subjects of undeserved suffering and undeserved toil emerge in the documents of the period, three points of contrast appear.⁴ The application of the idea of ministry was made *clearly* to undeserved suffering, to undeserved toil only *obscurely*; the one application was due to the solitary insight of a *single thinker*, the other to the slow groping of a *people's* mind; finally, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah remained a '*sealed book*,' but during the next generations in the *practice* of Israel the stigma passed at least from some kinds of work, for every Jewish boy was taught a handicraft.⁵ It is possible, however, to overestimate the significance of this last phenomenon. In the 'Dispersion' a Hebrew

¹ Gen. i. 28.

² Chap. VI. E.

³ Gen. i. 27.

⁴ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 213 ff.

⁵ The unusually small proportion of slaves in Israel at this time probably helped this development (*Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, iv., p. 467b).

family would not usually own land. So the ancient basis of family life was gone, and it was necessary that every boy be able to earn his own living in some other way than agriculture. The custom of handicraft arose through the indirect coercion of history. Its motive was not primarily altruistic. Still, the change in idea was singularly complete, for at length it seemed not incredible that a carpenter should be the Messiah. A new kind of work—handicraft—now first became common throughout Israel, and it became common as the undertaking of the free.

Another remark needs to be added here, even though it anticipates the next chapter. The transfiguration of drudgery by motive means, not that the distinction between different kinds of work disappears, but that it takes a new and nobler form. Of old the distinction had been between two kinds of work, yet there are not two but three distinguishable kinds—that which is welcome for its own sake; that which, though in itself unwelcome, is welcomed because it is ministry; that which is merely unwelcome. They may be distinguished as toilless 'work,' toil transfigured, and toil endured. Through the motive of ministry the third kind disappears in the second. Yet this still leaves two types. If it were possible to unite these, if some time it should be unnecessary that any one volunteer even for God's sake to do work in itself irksome, if this kind of work could somehow be done without man's toil, if in every undertaking the two motives of the love of the work itself and the love of God were to blend, that

would be a toilless and a perfect world. When the Temple was rebuilding one Jew would be delightedly fashioning a cherub, another content to carry stones. Both worked willingly for the love of the Lord, but, if it had been possible, the second would have had his task abolished, while to the first to lose his work would have been misery itself. The one was a labourer, the other an artist. While in all work there is some room for art, perfect work, when at last it comes, will be wholly art. It will therefore be wholly 'leisure.' It will also be wholly worship, for God alone is 'altogether lovely,' and all beauty grounds and culminates in Him. So the two motives—the love of work for itself, of 'art for art's sake,' and the love of God—will at last be one. It is only under the principle of Accommodation that even a good man does anything that does not itself bewitch him. The ministry of undeserved disadvantage lapses in heaven.

V

THE NEW TESTAMENT IDEAL

A. A Derivative Doctrine

It will be convenient to discuss first the New Testament Ideal and then the New Testament Practice.¹ The former defines the Christian goal, the latter the first steps that the Church took on the way to it. For the first Christians came to recognize that the perfect practices of a perfect world were not all immediately possible in an imperfect world. Yet they none the less believed that they held the secret of the redemption, and so of the perfecting of mankind, and that therefore the Ideal would finally be practised. In other words, they applied the principle of 'Accommodation.' Their doctrine of the Ideal is discussed in this chapter and their practice in the next.

The preceding chapters have been introduced by some account of the social conditions of the time whose theories they depict. This method is not followed at this point because one of the marks of 'the New Testament *Ideal*' is its 'timelessness'—the fact that it is independent of 'circumstances,' that it belongs, not merely to the first century and Galilee, but to all centuries and places. It is true, of course, that

¹ Cf. B, D, S., chaps. v. and vi.

the first Christians had to apply this Ideal to their own circumstances, and that for the study of this application it is important that the 'social situation' in their day should be known, but this subject belongs to the next chapter. It will be found that the implications of the Christian Ideal for the disciples' immediate practice are there drawn out, and, indeed, that some other implications are added which the particular situation of New Testament times does not directly warrant. The reason is that, on the side of wealth and work, the social problems that faced the little scattered communities of the New Testament Church were quite few. It is convenient to consider them at the apposite places in a rather wider discussion.

The disadvantage of treating the biblical doctrines of wealth and work apart from the general theory of society reaches its climax in the New Testament.¹ No New Testament book considers these subjects separately. For Jesus and the apostles problems of wealth and work were not dominant problems, but dependent ones. This kind of question is not ignored in the New Testament, still less is it treated as 'irrelevant to religion,' but it is always given an ancillary place. Problems of wealth and work do not emerge in the false isolation of modern times, but fall within the scope of a wider question—How shall men, or societies of men, treat one another? Yet for the Bible even this is not the fundamental question. From beginning to end it makes religion basal to sociology. Its 'architectonic' question is, What is the relation

¹ Preface, pp. 12 ff.

of man to God and God to man? On this relation there depends the right relation of men to each other. When these in turn are defined, the way to settle problems of wealth and work naturally opens. It was not found possible to describe the New Testament Ideal in the general discussion of *The Bible Doctrine of Society* without saying something of the doctrines of prosperity and leisure that it involves. Nor is it possible here to describe those doctrines without laying out briefly the larger theory from which they ensue. This the remaining paragraphs of this section seek to do.

The New Testament Ideal admits only of two ultimate units, the individual and mankind. The existence of other units of society—as nation, ‘class,’ and even family—is only justifiable if they serve the welfare of these two. They are the means; the two are the end. Both the latter are perfected through a right relation to God. The true individual may be defined indistinguishably as a child of God, a believer ‘in Christ,’ a man who is ‘filled with the Spirit.’ Similarly, the ideal mankind may be defined indistinguishably as the kingdom of God, the Christian fellowship, the society of the Spirit. It is clear that the two sets of definitions are parallel to each other. It is clear, too, that if an individual and mankind respectively fulfilled these definitions there would be no conflict between the ‘rights’ of the two. The last definition in each case is most serviceable here. Just in proportion as a society and one of its individual members are ‘filled with’ the same spirit, they complete each other. And if the

'spirit' be the perfect Spirit, the personal Spirit of the God-man, He will at last perfect them both, and thereby perfect their relation alike to God and to each other. This statement is summary, and it seems at first to have little to do with the immediate subject; but the New Testament derives the solution of all particular social problems, including those of wealth and work, from these high religious concepts.

Of the New Testament Ideal, as of the Old, prosperity is a part. But the process of the deepening of its definition, begun in much earlier times,¹ was now completed. Its final name is 'eternal life.' Such a definition shows at once how far-reaching was the influence of the ideas enunciated in the last paragraph. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that 'eternal life' was thought of as merely future. It was a 'life' that might begin now. Nor was it merely 'spiritual,' though it was predominantly so. Its core was the 'enjoyment of God,' but, while the early Christian held that man was made for God, he also held that in a secondary way men were made for each other, and that while the 'world of things,' or 'nature,' was made by God for His own delight, one of the purposes of His delight in it was that it should serve man and be his home. So that human 'prosperity' consists of three 'enjoyments'—the enjoyment of God, of other men, of 'things.'² As God is the author of the universe, the second and third are really part of the first. It is under the third that the subject of 'wealth,' in its narrower sense, emerges. It does so, be it noted, rather under

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 158 f., 200 ff., 218 f.

² Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 294 ff.

the notion of 'enjoyment' or 'use' than of 'property.'¹ For in the New Testament 'property' is not an end, but a means—a means to prosperity. A modern synonym for 'eternal life' is 'self-realization.' The Christian holds that a man 'realizes self' when he is all that God made him to become. It will be seen that in this complex concept 'possessions' have a place that is at once integral and ancillary. They are the lowliest tools of 'self-realization.' Jesus taught that 'a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth,'² yet He also said, 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need' of food and raiment.'³ The next verse to the one just quoted gives 'possessions' their right place in Christian teaching—'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and *all these things shall be added unto you.*'⁴

What of the other leading Hebrew notion about the present subject, the 'worth' of 'leisure'? Here, again, a wider and deeper word ought first to be studied, the word 'liberty.' Of this, too, however, a full discussion would be out of place.⁵ It may suffice to note that the definition of 'liberty,' like that of 'prosperity,' deepens through the epochs of the Bible. In the New Testament it means primarily liberty from sin, and so—to pass from a negative to a positive concept—liberty to fulfil one's true nature. It is an integral element in 'self-realization.' Yet this 'inward' freedom is not all. No kind of coercion, inward or outward,

¹ Cf. pp. 26 ff.

⁴ Matt. vi. 33.

² Luke xii. 15.

³ Matt. vi. 32.

⁵ Vide B. D. S., pp. 246 ff.

belongs properly to a 'child of God.' In the Ideal he will never be driven to any reluctant task. No use of force, however indirect, is agreeable to 'the liberty of the glory of the children of God.' The idea of 'leisure' inheres in the more magnificent idea of liberty.

A society or an individual of the Christian type will exhibit a certain characteristic temper. Its usual name is 'love,' both in the New Testament and outside it. But this is a term of very various connotation. Christianity has its own distinctive definition of 'love.' The definition is most easily reached through the two 'great commandments,' taken in the relation to each other in which Jesus placed them—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and mind and soul and strength' and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' Historically the second had followed from the first,¹ and Jesus' thought retained this dependence. The distinctively Christian type of love is 'The love of God issuing in the love of man.' For this kind of love it is convenient to have a particular name, even though current speech lacks one. 'Meekness' is generally used below for it,² not because it is unobjectionable, but for lack of a better single term.

Yet in the second of the 'great commandments' a third kind of love is named, self-love. The form of the commandment assumes not only that it exists, but that it is commendable, for it makes it the measure of the love of others. For Christianity there is a justifiable self-love. The ground of this is easily seen. A man who

¹ *B. D. S.*, p. 207.

² *Cf. B. D. S.*, p. 277.

loves God 'with all his heart' will love all things that He has made. Is not he himself one of these? The above account of 'self-realization' requires the doctrine of the 'worth' of every individual man. Does not this include the worth of oneself? Jesus' demand for 'self-denial' has its sequel in the assurance of 'self-realization'—'Whosoever shall lose his life for My sake shall find it.'¹ The term 'selfishness,' when closely examined, means for Christians the *disproportionate* love of self. Even so, the sin is probably universal! But Meekness involves three kinds of love—the love of God, of self, of other men—and demands that the third of these be equal to the second, since both have the same ground in the first. If every man be 'of worth for God,' he who utterly loves God will seek, so far as in him lies, to perfect every man, himself and others. Meekness is naturally universal. This has an immediate consequence for the subjects of wealth and work. The Christian Ideal for them is not merely 'prosperity' and 'leisure,' but 'universal prosperity' and 'universal leisure.'² The last vision of the Apocalypse means much else by its splendid symbols, but it means this, too.³ Christianity will at last abolish both poverty and drudgery.

B. The Perfect Method of Distributing Wealth

It has just been seen that the New Testament requires that in a perfect world there shall be

¹ Matt. xvi. 25.

² For the whole of Section A see *B. D. S.*, chap. v., particularly Section F.

³ Rev. xxi. 1–xxii. 5. For 'leisure' xxii. 3 should be specially noted (cf. Gen. iii. 17).

universal riches. Two questions follow: How would wealth be *distributed* in such a world? How would wealth be *produced* in such a world? The first question is discussed in this section, the second in the next.

In discussing the ideal method of distributing wealth a beginning may be made from the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.¹ It still seems 'unfair' to a modern reader, at least at first sight, that the man who had worked 'but one hour' should receive the same 'penny' as the man who had worked twelve. This, however, is because 'goods' are distributed in the present imperfect world, not according to need, but according to desert. In such a world the dominant question is not 'What does this man need?' but 'What has this man earned?' This method may be necessary at present, but is it the perfect method? Is it the method of home? Does a father give a child what it earns or what it needs? It has been seen before that the family in many ways approximates to the Ideal society. In the Parable of the Labourers Jesus says, in effect, that the home method of satisfying need, rather than the paying of 'earned' wages, is the way of the kingdom of God. It has been noted earlier that in the East the typical unskilled labourer 'lives a day at a time'—that is, one day's pay buys the next day's food. The 'householder' knew his labourers' need, and would not have any one of them hungry on the morrow. Like a true father or brother, he gave them, not what they had earned, but what they needed. This is, of

¹ Matt. xx. 1 ff.

² p. 104.

course, God's usual way in nature. He 'makes His sun to shine on the evil and the good, and sends rain on the just and the unjust.'¹ It is also His way in Christ. He gave His Son, not to meet the desert of man, but man's need. What is God's way will in the Ideal be man's. Distribution will be according to need. Every man will, of course, receive all the 'goods' that he requires to satisfy every worthy need.

The criticism will at once be urged, 'Well, but such a society could only exist if every one *contributed* to the common stock as well as *drew from* it. In a home a father expects his children to do all that they can to "keep the home going" as well as to live on its "goods." What guarantee is there that, under the system described, production would equal consumption? You are providing a heaven for the lazy.' The answer is that, at the moment, it is the nature of the *Ideal* that is under discussion, and that, in the Ideal, since all will be 'meek' all will 'produce' their utmost. This is, indeed, implicit in Jesus' parable, for to the householder's challenge, 'Why stand ye here all the day idle?' the latest of his labourers are able to answer, 'No man hath hired us.' In other words, when they had 'put in' a single hour's work they had done all that they could. It is indeed true that distribution according to need, while it can be partly practised already, can only be completely practised in a perfect world, as will appear later. The question here, however, is, 'What would be the method of distribution in a *perfect* society?' One part of the answer seems clearly to be

¹ Matt. v. 45.

that in its distribution would be according to need.

It may be doubted whether in such a state there would be any use for bargain, or for its tool, money. For money is just a device, more or less successful, for securing that 'consumption' does not take place without 'production.' To offer money for a thing is to give a guarantee that there has been production, and guarantees are necessary only in imperfect societies. In a perfect world there would be a 'common stock' in some form or other, to which every man would, of course, contribute his utmost, and from which he would—equally, of course—draw at his need. This, indeed, is just to apply the definition of Meekness to the subject of 'goods.' In some ways there is such a 'stock' in a home.

The early Church made a brave attempt immediately to put into practice this kind of perfection in its brief custom of the community of goods.¹ This failed through the error of precipitancy,² but the perfect Meekness of a perfect society will proceed exactly as the Nazarenes of Jerusalem did—'The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul; and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common . . . neither was there among them any that lacked.'³ When Meekness is universal and perfect, all the objections to this practice will lapse. It is important, however, to note that the practice was of love, not force. There was no coercion, as Peter's address to

¹ Acts ii. 44, iv. 32 ff.

² Acts iv. 32, 34.

³ pp. 174 f.

Ananias makes clear.¹ Here, as elsewhere, coercion would have meant imperfection.² The practice was the natural and spontaneous product of a true Meekness. Probably it had its origin in the common 'bag' of Jesus and His disciples.³ In a previous chapter the kinds of property were distinguished as national, 'communal,' family, and personal.⁴ In substance these reduce to two, the property of a society and the property of an individual. Now it appears that in the perfect realm these two will be one. Every individual's possessions belong to any who needs them; the common stock belongs to every one within the society. This may be called either the euthanasia or the consummation of property. Here a distinction made earlier still is to be remembered.⁵ If he only is called the owner of property who actually *uses* it, then of course in the perfect state all property is individual, yet, as every one enjoys the use of all he needs, there is universal wealth. But if the distinctive mark of ownership be the *control* of property, the coming of an entire and universal Meekness destroys it, for control implies that one man keeps it from another. Lastly, if by property is meant the *potential* use of things, then in the Kingdom it is consummated, for there each is always sure of all that he needs. The last promise of the Apocalypse has application ultimately not only to 'spiritual' appetite, but to all the natural desires of human nature: 'He that is athirst, let him come; he that will, let him take the water of life freely.'⁶ Universal

¹ Acts v. 4.

² John xii. 6, xiii. 29; cf. Luke viii. 3.

³ pp. 26 ff.

⁴ B. D. S., pp. 326 ff.

⁵ pp. 47 ff.

⁶ Rev. xxii. 17.

Meekness means universal wealth.¹ It has been said above that in the Patriarchal story the central concept is of a prosperous *home*, in the pre-Monarchic epoch a prosperous *village*, and in the Monarchy a prosperous *nation*.² A careful eye might discover that after the Exile the idea of *individual* prosperity was added.³ The New Testament concept includes and transcends all these. It promises a wealthy *mankind*, wherein every smaller 'unity of society' is wealthy too.

C. *The Perfect Method of Producing Wealth*

Perhaps there is no study in the history of mankind more disheartening than the study of leisure. Almost invariably, as soon as any race, family, or individual has been freed from the chain of necessity it has degenerated into the indolence or insolence of self. Can any continent show a line of despots—that is, of *individuals* who could do as they liked—who were meek? It is thought much if an occasional despotism be 'benevolent.' How many aristocracies—that is, *families* that have won leisure to do what they will—have justified their opportunities? There is no record of even one that has continuously and as a whole used well its liberty. For instance, the splendid history of some among the historic English nobility does not redeem the failure of others. Again, the New Testament has an illustration of the leisured sloth of an *intellectual* coterie⁴ which has far too often found parallels.

¹ This is the truth that lies behind the Patristic doctrine that private property, though legitimate in a world of sin, is not 'natural'; e.g. *Property, its Duties and Rights*, pp. 122, 174; Lecky, *History of European Morals*, ii., p. 81; Harnack, *The Social Gospel*, p. 32.

² p. 129.

³ Cf. p. 137.

⁴ Acts xvii. 21.

Perhaps, however, the failure of the *plutocrat* is most abject of all. How few who win or inherit 'independence' by the possession of money, dedicate that independence to the common good? A Gibbon or a Ruskin, a Colet or a Nightingale, is a rare name amid a sordid crowd. Is it not usually assumed that 'leisured classes' will spend their leisure chiefly in 'enjoying themselves'? The '*working classes*,' again, have to-day won for themselves not inconsiderable intervals of weekly leisure, but they have still to learn its use. To watch other men play a fine game, and perhaps to gamble over its result, exhausts the leisure of more multitudes than a sick heart cares to number. The problem of combining leisure and Meekness, freedom and service, is a problem indeed. Yet unless it be solved there can be no perfect society, no kingdom of God.

The New Testament exhibits the method of solution, as is its custom, not primarily by the weaving of theory, but by the illustration of practice. It will seem strange to say that Jesus of Nazareth was a leisured man, yet in the sense here given to the word this is true of the three years of His ministry. The thirty years at Nazareth knew no leisure, and about these the Bible is almost silent, for in the ideal picture the perfect man must be one who does just as he likes. During His 'public ministry' Jesus enjoyed this liberty, for then He did not 'work' in the common meaning of the term¹; somehow He escaped the coercion of the need to win His livelihood; He had the opportunities of leisure.

¹ Cf. Luke viii. 3.

How did He use them? In Meekness' abandon to the service of God in the world. He accepted every hour the responsibility that lies on every man for all men; He lived as one who knew that great gifts are but great means of service; He died because He would not be perfected alone. In Him there is the one adequate example of conquest by Meekness; His Cross is the perfect union of responsibility and freedom. 'I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep. . . . Therefore doth My Father love Me, because I lay down My life . . . I lay it down of Myself.'¹ Here is the zenith of Meekness—for one's enemies to choose to die. The Cross was the leisure of Christ. If every member of any society were completely meek—eagerly seeking, that is, not his own satisfaction only, nor even his own satisfaction pre-eminently, but the satisfaction of all equally, according to the one standard of the will of God—then every member of that society could be trusted with perpetual leisure. Meekness completes the Old Testament's transfiguration of toil.* It admits no unwilling service. The truly leisured man is the man eagerly at work, whether it be at breaking stones or painting a picture, for the kingdom of God. No one can estimate the 'productivity' of a meek mankind. For it to provide universal wealth would be simple. On this side there would be no problem left.

The relation of Meekness to toil, however, as it occurs in the New Testament, needs further elucidation. This appears if a distinction made

¹ John x. 11-18.

* pp. 143 ff.; cf. also pp. 217 ff.

in the last chapter be recalled.¹ There a three-fold classification of 'work' was made. In one type of work toil is merely endured, in a second toil is transfigured, in a third toil is abolished. The difference between the first and second is altogether of motive. Both imply that a man is doing something that he would not choose to do for its own sake, but under the one he works because he must, while under the other he works willingly, since through the work he may serve man to God's glory. The first kind of work is unwelcome, the second welcome. True motive transfigures toil.

The controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees about the Sabbath turned in part upon the fact that He made this distinction while they refused it.² For them work was mere toil; for Him it might be joy. Strict logic would have driven them to an utterly otiose Sabbath, but life refuses to be altogether the slave of false theories, and even a Pharisee would lead his ass or his ox to watering on the holy day.³ Further, there was already implicit in the priests' work in the Temple the distinction between welcome and unwelcome tasks, as Jesus reminded His critics.⁴ But, teaching 'as one having authority and not as the scribes,' His usual appeal was not to any ancient precedent, but to His own 'theology.' 'My Father worketh even until now, and I work'⁵—that is, 'God goes on blessing men on the seventh day as on the six without

¹ pp. 151 f.

² Mark ii. 23-36; Luke xiii. 10-17, xiv. 1-6; John v. 9-18, ix. 14.

³ Luke xiii. 15; cf. xiv. 5.

⁴ Matt. xii. 5; cf. John vii. 22, and see p. 147.

⁵ John v. 17.

breaking Sabbath, and so do I'; 'The Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath'¹—that is, 'For Me the Sabbath is a tool and not an end'; 'It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day.'² Jesus refused to allow that all work is toil.

Yet even the transfiguration of toil is not perfect bliss. It may ennoble the meanest task and make it worthy, yet if there could be a world wherein none should ever need, even for the sake of a brother and the love of God, to undertake work in itself distasteful, that would be a perfect world. Jesus willingly undertook the Cross, and so ennobled even its shame, yet in a perfect society there are no crosses. The transfiguration of toil by the motive of Meekness may mark a stage towards bliss, but perfect bliss demands the abolition of all work in itself unwelcome to true men.*

The longing for rest is a natural expression of this idea in a weary world, and this is not omitted in the New Testament. One of Jesus' loveliest sayings founds on it: 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest'³; the Apocalypse promises ultimate escape from the ancient typical toil, 'the fag of the field': 'They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; *neither shall the sun strike upon them, nor any heat*'⁴; a chief passage in the

¹ Mark ii. 28.

² Matt. xii. 12. See also Section F in the next chapter.

³ 'I hope succeeding generations will be able to be idle. I hope that nine-tenths of their time will be leisure time; that they may enjoy their days, and the earth, and the beauty of this beautiful world. . . . They shall not work for bread, but for their souls' (Richard Jefferies, *The Story of my Heart*, chap. xi.). 'Idle' is here used in a peculiar sense.

⁴ Matt. xi. 28.

⁵ Rev. vii. 16; cf. xiv. 13. The full meaning of the last promise is not easily grasped in lands where the sun's heat is rarely oppressive

Epistle to the Hebrews argues that 'There remaineth therefore a Sabbath-rest for the people of God.'¹ In the kingdom of heaven there is to be universal leisure. The New Testament has no inkling of how this may be—probably only to-day has the first hint of its method been caught²—but with its passion for perfection the Bible pledges it to mankind. What can be 'impracticable' with God?

Yet rest is not the last New Testament word about leisure. No negative fully defines the word. It means more than escape from toil. He is a really 'leisured' man who undertakes the enterprises that he likes. Which will a perfect Christian like, and why? Meekness gives an answer by its very definition. The man who loves God 'with all his heart' will choose those enterprises by which he may please God; and he will love them as well as choose them, for God's will is his, and his will God's. All work so becomes worship. A text in the Apocalypse puts this in an inimitable way: 'The throne of God and of the Lamb shall be therein; and His servants shall do Him service.'³ The word for 'servants' is 'bondmen,' but the term for 'do Him service' means also 'worship.' Bondage finds its euthanasia in love. So 'service' is 'perfect freedom.' There is no idleness in the last leisure of the saints, but there is no task either; its work is worship. So pleasure is bliss.⁴

and the typical 'toiler' does not work in the open air. The writer remembers sitting in railway carriages on Indian journeys almost overwhelmed with heat, and watching here and there a ryot at his plodding husbandry in the full glare of an Eastern sun.

¹ Heb. iv. 9.

² p. 235.

³ Rev. xxii. 3.

⁴ B. D. S., pp. 292 ff.

Yet the quotation just made from the Apocalypse is not quite complete. It runs, 'His servants shall do Him service; and they shall see His face'—that is, according to the parable of Eastern courts, the saints count it their highest joy to be with their sovereign. While all their ministry is dear, their dearest delight is *immediate* communion with God. In willingly fulfilling the enterprises that He loves there is worship, but it is, so to say, indirect; even the Holy Place has its Holy of Holies; bliss is consummate in the direct worship of the Most High.¹ The primitive Hebrew Sabbath had been secured at the first for a particular set of people—those who worshipped the Lord; later the subordination of leisure to worship in the Sabbath's purpose had become explicit²; the writer to the Hebrews, by a sudden change of word, transfers these ideas in this their proper relation to the Christian future. He has been speaking of 'rest' under the usual Greek term (*κατάπαυσις*), but his conclusion is, 'There remaineth therefore a *Sabbath-keeping* (*σαββατισμός*) for the people of God.'³ The change of term adds the notion of worship. Heaven's universal leisure is but a means to universal worship. The dominance of this idea in the Christian doctrines of leisure and bliss is the natural outcome of a 'theological' sociology. Meekness transfigures unwelcome toil—this is much; even welcome toil is to pass, and only ideal enterprises remain to man—this is

¹ This is important in the discussion of the present use of 'the Lord's Day.' See pp. 236 ff.

² pp. 70 ff., 141 f. Both the slave and 'ger' in early Israel 'worshipped the Lord' (pp. 36, 72).

³ Heb. iv. 9.

more ; but the climax of Christian thought is that an enterprise is ideal if it be the worship of God. Strictly there is no other bliss. The enjoyment of God, of persons, of things, is not ultimately threefold, but one, for the universe is integrate in God.¹

A word may be added about two possible criticisms. First, it may be said that a world without toil would be too easy a world, that discipline is a necessary element in the making of a man, and that the idea of complete 'leisure' leaves no room for discipline. It is impossible altogether to meet this criticism. The question, 'Is the making of character possible without discipline?' is parallel to another question, 'Is virtue possible in a sinless world?' It is easy to ask puzzling questions about a perfect world, because man has as yet no experience of it. Still, surely there may be discipline apart from 'unwelcome work.' Is there no discipline in the pursuit of science or art? Surely the long and strenuous endeavour of the scientist or the artist is a high kind of discipline. Is it not indeed the highest kind, self-discipline? Yet these men's work is not 'unwelcome' but chosen; in the sense given the terms here, it is not 'toil' but 'leisure.' The idea of 'universal leisure' excludes neither the zest of endeavour nor its discipline. Rather it defines the paradise of science and of art, both words being used in their wider sense. For those who believe that the 'world of things' is God's world, to love and so to pursue knowledge or beauty is at once 'leisure' and worship. Indeed, under the

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 294 ff.

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concept of 'universal leisure' it is true both that all life is worship, that all life is learning, and that all life is art.

Again, the objection may be made that to define 'leisure' as 'welcome work,' and then to define 'welcome' as that which pleases God, leaves yet a further question: What kind of work pleases God? To this question the New Testament gives no complete answer. In the last paragraphs it has indeed been stated that in the kingdom of heaven the direct worship of God will delight all the citizens, and implied that the pursuit of science and art will at least delight some, and this suggests an answer. But to give the biblical grounds of the implication that science and art are worthy of the 'sons of God' it would be necessary to lay out the whole Christian doctrine of 'nature,' to show how the Bible everywhere treats it as good, and as the proper habitat and home of man, and this lies beyond the scope of the present study. Again, one might say that the proper aim of a perfect human activity would be to express and feed personality, both in oneself and others. Such statements are true, but they are also vague. There is here, in fact, one more instance of the impossibility of defining an unrealized ideal. But it is still true that 'If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know.'

VI

THE NEW TESTAMENT PRACTICE

A. Property in an Imperfect Society

It was shown in the last chapter that the bliss of the ideal society involves the euthanasia or consummation of private property—that ‘when that which is perfect is come,’ every man will willingly contribute all that his glad endeavour can worthily produce to a common fund of wealth, and will in turn draw from the common fund all that he worthily needs. In other words, universal Meekness will mean universal wealth. This perfect use of wealth, however, is only possible in a perfect society. There is a saying of the Master preserved in the Acts of the Apostles: ‘It is more blessed to give than to receive.’¹ When this creed is practised by all, the final Christian use of property will be entirely practicable, for each will more heartily contribute his uttermost and his best to the common wealth than draw his satisfaction from it. But so long as some of the members of a society practise, wholly or partly, the contrary maxim, ‘It is more blessed to receive than to give,’ the Christian kind of ‘communism’ cannot be perfected. Else the drone would live upon the industrious, and the ‘perfect’ society be the idler’s Elysium. Jesus Himself recognized that in the present

¹ Acts xx. 35.

'age' it would not always be possible to practise literally the final ideal: 'and He said unto them, When I sent you forth without purse, and wallet, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing. And He said unto them, But now, he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a wallet; and he that hath none, let him sell his cloke, and buy a sword.'¹ So, too, the early Nazarene experiment in Christian 'communism,' admirable as it was, broke down. It is to be noted that there was no attempt to practise a universal communism. The experiment was confined to the band of 'disciples,' and even then it failed. It erroneously presupposed complete Meekness both in him that gave and him that took. Not only the 'murmuring of the Grecian Jews against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in the daily ministration,'² but the sin of Ananias—that Achan of the New Testament—revealed the precipitancy of the experiment.* There is a sense in which it is only possible to behave perfectly in a perfect society.⁴ Imperfect members impose imperfect behaviour on others. Perfection in practice, *as distinct from motive*, must in the last resort be mutual.⁵ Even Jesus could not trust Himself to all men⁶; yet in a perfect world this is just what He will do. All later attempts to practise Christian 'communism' have made shipwreck, like the first, on the rock of an incomplete Meekness. Not the method has been imperfect, but some at least of the men. No other New Testament Church seems to have

¹ Luke xxii. 35 f.² Acts vi. 1.³ Acts v. 1 ff.⁴ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 310.⁵ See footnote on p. 180.⁶ John ii. 24.

copied the experiment at Jerusalem. Instead the Christians fell back upon the Hebrew habit of alms, and even under it the lazy sometimes victimized the industrious.¹ Many writers connect the subsequent poverty of the Church in Jerusalem² with its ingenuous experiment in an unseasonable perfection. The question therefore remains, What shall the Christian use of property be until the perfect society come? How shall the Christian get, hold, and give meanwhile? How shall he behave so long as imperfect people beset the Christian society, both without and within?

The New Testament, apart at least from the passage just discussed, assumes as unquestioningly as the Old that private property—and with it various degrees of wealth—is both inevitable and lawful during the present imperfection.³ It is true that there are one or two condemnations of the rich as such,⁴ but this is because it was still true that the rich as a class both rejected the gospel and harried the poor.⁵ These texts, taken literally, are not of universal but of particular application. They were apposite to the immediate situation, and they have often been apposite since, but they are not always apposite. It is a sign of this that the Matthaean version of the Sermon on the Mount—which sometimes differs from the Lucan by ‘generalizing’ the personal and particular—displaces the Beatitude, ‘Blessed

¹ Cf. 2 Thess. iii. 10.

² Acts xi. 29; 1 Cor. xvi. 1 ff.; 2 Cor. viii. 9; Rom. xv. 26 f.

³ This is implied, for instance, in 1 Cor. xi. 21 f.; 1 Tim. vi. 17 f.; Jas. i. 9 f., ii. 1 ff.; Heb. xiii. 5 f.; Rev. ii. 9 and iii. 17.

⁴ e.g. Luke vi. 20, 24; Jas. v. 1 ff.; cf. Rev. xiii. 17.

⁵ Cf. pp. 97 f., 140.

are ye poor' by 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' It was true of Jesus' immediate hearers that the poor received Him while the rich, with some exceptions, rejected Him, but a Beatitude—and a 'Woe,'—suited to this situation could not be 'universalized.' Else the Church would have had no Zacchaeus, no Martha, no Lydia, no Philemon, perhaps no Paul. While the majority of the new sect were poor,¹ there were a few rich members, and there is no hint that these were required to divide their wealth equally with the rest. Even in the instance of attempted 'communism' there is no suggestion that the practice depended on coercion. To coerce would have been to contradict the freedom which is one of the foundations of the kingdom of God.² Its equality is by consent, not by coercion, as Peter made plain when he upbraided Ananias.³ To attempt to coerce men to bring their gifts to the common fund would be to degrade the Kingdom into a jail.⁴ The New Testament teaches a final communism, but its communism is voluntary, and it declines to destroy the foundation of freedom in order to rear the superstructure of equality. It admits for the present the private control of property, with the consequent denial to some of opportunities that others enjoy.

If it be asked how a theory that expects a final equality of opportunity can for so long admit an inequality of wealth, the answer is that it holds

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 298.

² Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 246 ff.

³ Cf. pp. 162 f.

⁴ The writer once saw a specimen of this kind of coercion on Dartmoor—an armed soldier standing idle to keep two convicts at their task. Here, however, the coercion was applied to work and not to wealth.

possessions a secondary thing. Christianity may for a time tolerate an imperfect social institution if it does not forbid the primary enjoyment, the enjoyment of God,¹ and this no difference of wealth or poverty prohibits. Some, indeed, say that it is impossible to 'live a decent life in a vile environment,' but the story of Christianity baffles their logic, for many of the first 'disciples' lived amid the vice of Graeco-Roman cities, and in every era since there have been Christians among the poorest.² One of Christianity's signal achievements is the saint in the lazar and the 'slum.' In poverty, as well as in bondservice and toil,³ Meekness may fulfil a ministry of undeserved disadvantage.⁴ So, for instance, just as Christianity tolerated slavery for a time, just as it endures toil for a further season, so it temporarily admits the disproportion in possessions that amazes thoughtful Christians of the twentieth century. It bears for a while with the poverty that it will ultimately destroy. Jesus refused to rescue a wronged man's patrimony from his brother's rapacity on the explicit ground that property is not primary for life and that His one business was with the primary; 'A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.'⁵ He was busy, not with the consequences but the cause, not with the harvest but the seed. Similarly, the error of the Rich Fool⁶ was just that he made the secondary principal, and the sin of the 'anxious' is to forget the prime quest of the Kingdom in the subordinate

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 308 ff.

² Cf. Luke iv. 18, vii. 22, xiv. 21, 23.

³ *B. D. S.*, pp. 213 ff. Chap. IV. *B.* above.

⁴ Luke xii. 15.

⁵ Cf. chap. VI. *E.*

⁶ Luke xii. 16 ff.

one of meat and drink.' To the insistent plea that a 'man must live' the New Testament answers, 'Rather, a man must know God; else he does not live.'

Yet, though the New Testament treats property as secondary, it does not exclude it from the scope of Christianity, or postpone the process of its 'Christianization' to the millennium. On the contrary, as the secondary falls under the sway of the primary, the 'gift of the Spirit' will make all the difference in the way in which a man deals with his property here and now. The early attempt immediately to realize the ultimate communism was made by men who had experienced Pentecost; indeed, they made it *because* they had experienced Pentecost. Not their motive but their method was mistaken. All true lovers of Christ bring the precious box of spikenard to break over His feet. A man who is 'right with God' will use his goods aright. More than once Jesus accepted men's treatment of property as decisive evidence of their relation to God. For example, this underlay His wrathful cleansing of the Temple court¹; on this ground He accepted Zacchaeus²; the fault of Dives was just that he ignored the need of Lazarus³; the Parable of the Unjust Steward at least meant that the misuse of money may rob a man of 'the true riches'⁴; chief of all, the tremendous Parable of Judgement consigned men to 'eternal life'

¹ Luke xii. 13 ff., 22 ff.

² Other passages where the secondariness of possessions is exemplified are Mark x. 21 ff.; Acts viii. 18-20; 1 Cor. vii. 30; 2 Cor. iv. 18; Jas. iv. 13 ff.; Heb. x. 34; Rev. iii. 17 f.

³ Mark xi. 15 ff.

⁴ Luke xvi. 19 ff.

⁵ Luke xix. 1 ff.

⁶ Luke xvi. 11, 14.

or 'eternal punishment' by the way in which they treated the outcast and the poor.¹ Similarly, the apostles denounced 'covetousness' and the 'love of money,'² while in the Apocalypse the doom of Babylon the Great centres in her misuse of her abounding riches.³ Christianity has not only the promise of a final and universal wealth, but a message also for the present use of money. It makes it hard for a 'rich man'—harder than for a poor one—to 'enter into the kingdom of God.'

The Christian's general rule for the use of possessions in an imperfect world is that he will so use them—whether they be many or few—as best to hasten the coming of the time when the perfect brotherliness of the final communism will be possible. And, as this time is likely to come by several stages, he will study to discover what the next higher stage in the development is to be, and, having discovered it, he will seek with all his heart to lift the level of current practice to it. A chief immediate means to this end will be that he himself practise what he advocates. Sometimes, indeed, practice will be the one possible advocacy, for often in this realm, until an improvement is actually practised by its advocates, 'the many' patiently reckon it impracticable. How long in recent centuries has Christendom submitted with a Mohammedan fatalism to the evils of self-making competition? Have they not even been elevated into 'iron laws,' as if they were nature's own decree? Here is a sphere

¹ Matt. xxv. 31 ff.

² e.g. Rom. i. 29; Eph. v. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 10.

³ Rev. xviii. 11 ff.

where Christendom's next application of the spirit of Meekness to life is overdue. For to claim that in the world of commerce and industry it is impossible to 'love one's neighbour as oneself' is to preach the failure of Christianity.¹ If it cannot apply its motive to the whole of life, its impotence is discovered and its exhaustion sure. Happily, though theory has lingered there have always been Christian men in commerce whose practice, sometimes in spite of their theory, has exemplified Meekness. Now theory begins to limp forward as well. Here, too, Christianity will compass the 'impossible.'

A full discussion, however, of the present application of the Christian doctrine of property is no part of the present subject, for the New Testament has no account of it. To claim that the Bible should have drawn out such an account is to claim that the first century ought to have undertaken the task of the twentieth. Jesus laid down no perfect theory of economics, nor stated what the principal stages in its evolution would be. He gave men the Spirit of God, and left them to settle their own problems. Else where were the scope of freedom? It is a rule alike of divine providence in nature, and of Jesus' teaching, that nothing shall be done for man that he

¹ This does not really conflict with the statement made on p. 174 that there is a sense in which perfect behaviour is only possible in a perfect society. For the word 'perfect' has several senses. For instance, in one way a home can only be perfect where there is mutual love and trust between husband and wife. If the husband fail to be true to his home, his wife will not be able always to behave as if he were. Her behaviour cannot always be that of a perfect wife in a perfect home. Yet, in another sense, even in the home that he makes imperfect, his wife may behave 'perfectly' towards him. Indeed, she will do so if she retains the true *motive* of home. The distinction here involved is briefly but expressly made on p. 174.

can do for himself. Only so may a world of able men be developed. The other method—of the laying down of rule by rule, line by line—could only issue in a universe of machines. This age must meet its own problems, undergo its own discipline, ‘work out its own salvation.’ The eaglet will never fly unless it is flung over the precipice.

But neither will it fly unless it has wings. Though the details of the solution of the social problems of the present are not found in the Bible, the principles that will inform the solution are there. These are two—Accommodation and Meekness. Of these the second is the master, the first the servant. The Bible insists that the problem of economics, like all other problems of human life, can only be rightly stated in one way—How may the perfect spirit of Meekness, the spirit of the man who seeks the kingdom of God first and his own good only as a subordinate part thereof, be applied to the winning and the use of property? In the perfect society the answer to this question and to another, How may a man best gain his own living?, will be the same, for the welfare of the world of men will then always include the welfare of the individual, but in an imperfect society the answers to the two questions may be widely different. Still more widely may the answer to the first differ from the answer to a third question, How may a man best ‘make his fortune’? On such a difference the Bible does not allow of any hesitation. It asserts inexorably the primacy of the kingdom of God. The ruling motive in the Christian life must at all cost be Meekness. It was to assert this, and not to tie

down His followers for all time to a detail, that Jesus put certain of His behests so sharply : 'Give to every one that asketh thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again'; 'Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses that wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not.'² To say that the 'spirit' of these commands is binding on Christians and not the 'letter' is not to say that they are not binding at all. Only the present practice of Meekness can bring in its perfect rule.

It has already been implied that in the New Testament 'goods' are always a tool, never an end. More than one of Jesus' sayings have this distinction in view. 'Beware of covetousness,' He once said.³ The word, taken literally, means 'the desire of getting more,' the itch for more just because it is more. The same idea—that property is a tool and never an end—lies behind the paragraph in the Sermon on the Mount beginning 'Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth.'⁴ Possessions ought never to be 'treasures.' They are tools to get the true treasure with. 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God.' Here 'first' means 'primarily.' It is worth noticing that in this passage Jesus concentrates on the sin of 'worry' about 'goods.' He who makes their acquisition his end, even if he fails to get them, is guilty of sin, just as much as he who succeeds. Again, the story of the Rich Young

¹ Luke vi. 30.

² Luke xii. 33.

³ Luke xii. 15.

⁴ In *letter* the Sermon on the Mount has no paragraph that 'completes' (Matt. v. 17) the commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal,' as it has for 'Thou shalt not kill,' &c. (Matt. v. 21-37), but in *fact* Matt. vi. 19-34 exactly fills the gap. This is the Bible's 'last word' about property.

Ruler is of one to whom riches were an end. Jesus' sad words, as he saw the young fellow 'go away sorrowful,' reveals how easy this sin is. It is so common that it is not usually reckoned a sin. Yet to make wealth the aim of life is sin. Some go a stage farther along the same road. Money is not itself wealth, but only the token of wealth. If it is wrong to make the multiplication of wealth an end, what of the multiplication of its token? To make possessions an end is to make them an idol. So treated they supplant God. The issue of this idolatry is slavery. Its devotees become the bondmen of their own tool. The teaching of the New Testament about the use of wealth in an imperfect society can be gathered in a single sentence—wealth is one of the tools of Meekness in anticipating and 'bringing in' the perfect kingdom of God. In other words, property is a ministerial or ancillary institution. Its forms and uses are justifiable in proportion as they further the coming of the Ideal. A form of property or a use of money may be a good means to this furtherance at one stage of development and not at another. None of them can claim perpetuity as of right. The one question by which to judge each of them is, Does it now best serve the process of progress towards the Ideal?¹

B. A Tool of the Kingdom

The answer to the question asked at the end of the last paragraph may be given in some typical instances. The Christian account of the

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 308 ff.

ministries of money will so be made clear. The way in which it differs from the merely 'altruistic' account will also appear. In Christianity, here as elsewhere, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' is not an ultimate and independent rule, but grows out of, and depends upon, the primary rule, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.'¹

It is generally allowed by Christians that a man ought not to spend his all upon himself or even upon his family, that he ought to 'spare' more or less of his money for the benefit of those who are poorer than himself, that gift should have a place in his life. But when this side of duty is faced, the old scribe's question gains new point—Who is the philanthropist's 'neighbour'? It is, indeed, commonly held that Jesus' answer to the question, the Parable of the Good Samaritan, meant that 'every man of every nation' is a 'neighbour,' and at its heart this answer is true. But, if it be taken literally, the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' would mean that a Christian is to spend as much money upon each of his fellow men as upon himself; that the 'gutter-sparrow' is to engage his care equally with his own child; that each of the many millions of heathen is to share as largely in the use of his goods as his wife! Such a conclusion, condemning itself, shows the inadequacy of altruism. It is true that in the 'end of the days' mankind will be a universal family, that then none will be shut out from advantages that others enjoy, that in the Christian communism, when a man says to his own child

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 285 f., &c.

‘Enjoy,’ he will not thereby imply for another child ‘Abstain,’ but meanwhile must not these things be? Jesus’ parable really meant that a man is to recognize as ‘neighbour’ any one whom he has the opportunity of helping, on the mere ground that he has the opportunity. The parable shows how Christianity begins with motive and leaves the detail of practice to the discoveries of patience. The question to which a Christian will ever be seeking and practising a more nearly perfect answer will be, How may I best use my possessions so as to bring in the day when every man shall enjoy every possession that he worthily desires? This does not necessarily mean that he will at once share his goods with every one.

Again, some claim that the first duty of the true ‘lover of mankind’ is to the starving rather than to the sinful, that Christianity should first feed the body and after ‘save the soul,’ that the primary end of money is material and not spiritual. It is impossible to reduce the practice of the New Testament Church to this rule. It is true, indeed, that the early Christians were frequent in alms, but the account of their alms is quite subsidiary. The primary pursuit of the Church was to preach the gospel—that is to say, to tell to all that ‘in Christ Jesus’ they might be ‘reconciled to God.’ The reasonableness of this, even from the material point of view, appears when it is remembered that the Christian theory makes every other good a consequence of the gospel. Men who believe that the cure of a single ill inevitably carries with it in the end the cure of all others, cannot

logically or philanthropically give their main strength to anything but the cure of that ill. The story of the early Church, therefore, is primarily the story of the preaching of Christ. Nothing else competes with this in the New Testament, nor should this be less true of the Christian of to-day. His first use of his possessions, as of the whole of his life, will be directly to spread the kingdom of God. He cannot be sure that any other gift to his brother man will not be misused, but he knows that if his neighbour be filled with the 'Spirit,' he will in the end misuse nothing. The same motive makes the Christian a keen advocate and supporter of foreign missions. Clearly he has a duty to the heathen, for they, too, are 'neighbours,' but they may misuse any other gift but the gospel, even such a gift as a knowledge of science or medicine, and at best other means are secondary for the great end. If, however, the heathen accept Christ, their way to perfection is open; they, too, will attain unto 'the perfect man'; in their land, too, the Kingdom will begin inevitably to come. Here is the one way to a perfect world. A Christian philanthropy, just because it is Christian, must be first to the soul and then to the body. The experiment of communism in the Church at Jerusalem broke down because within it there were men with imperfect souls.

Yet here, too, the principle of Accommodation interposes its 'Meanwhile?' Until the Kingdom come, are the bodies of men to be neglected? In New Testament times the Christian way of help was the giving of alms.¹ This was the best

¹ e.g. Matt. vi. 2 ff.; Luke xiv. 13 f.; John xiii. 29; Acts ix. 36 ff.,

way then open to them to benefit men's bodies. There is no need to show how in all her ages the Church has maintained the tradition of alms. It is easy to gird at the 'other-worldliness' of Christianity, but what other institution has so long and splendid a record of the healing of the sick, the clothing of the naked, the feeding of the hungry? And of England, for instance, it has probably long been true that there is no instance of a Church's wittingly allowing a single one of her members to starve.

There is, however, here a limitation. The first claim upon the alms of the Church is that of the poor Christian; her philanthropy has always begun with 'them that are of the household of faith.' Why should these be preferred to the other poor? Would it not be more perfect altruism to give equally to the unknown, the non-Christian, the anti-Christian? Was the first Church wrong in limiting its communism to itself, or Jesus' little society of twelve in keeping its own 'separate bag'? The answer that to prefer the brother Christian is 'natural' is hardly enough. There is something that underlies this 'naturalness.' Another answer, that the Christian poor are more deserving, contradicts the peculiar characteristic of the Christ that He died for the undeserving.¹ The true ground of the preference is that if the recipient of alms be a true Christian, there is therein a

xi. 29 f., xx. 35; Gal. ii. 10; 1 Cor. xvi. 1 ff.; 2 Cor. viii. and ix.; Rom. xv. 26; Eph. iv. 28; Heb. xiii. 3, 16. Another habit that anticipated the perfect distribution of wealth was the hospitality of the early Church; e.g. Acts xvi. 15, xxi. 16; Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Tim. iii. 2; 3 John 5-8; cf. Mark vi. 10; Luke x. 38.

¹ Cf. Matt. v. 44 ff.; Rom. xii. 20.

guarantee that the alms will be rightly used—used, that is, for the ends of the Kingdom. Meekness requires that its disciples do not merely give to others, but take trouble to help them in a right way—in a way, that is, that will bring in the perfect society. To give twopence to a drunkard will not do this. As well present razors to the suicidal. So through the long centuries Christendom has given itself to the discovery of the best way to help the downtrodden, and has tried to better its method of alms. This task is by no means yet complete. It may easily be that at length the giving of alms itself will pass into the limbo of superseded means. Though it was the best way, perhaps the only way, open to the first Christians of blessing man's hapless bodies, it cannot on that mere ground claim perpetuity. The means slowly perfect to the end.

The discrimination of the poor Christian from the other poor recalls an instance mentioned earlier. Why should a Christian spend a large part of his possessions upon the half dozen of his 'neighbours' called his 'family'? Is this only an extension of a 'natural' and necessary selfishness? Is the care of one's home only an elongated egoism? A further question follows with this one. Why should a Christian spend so large a proportion of his money upon himself? Why not share equally, if not with all men, at least with other Christians? Was the monk right?

The answer depends upon the Christian doctrine of providence. To draw this fully out would not here be in place, but it includes the belief that

in the distribution of wealth among men—a distribution leaving one strangely poor and another as strangely rich—there is at work not only the power of man, but of God. Another part of the answer, however, follows from the principles already stated. Inasmuch as no other is so utterly under a man's own control as himself, and after himself none so completely as his family, nowhere else can he so surely control the use of wealth, nowhere else can he so effectively secure that it is so spent as to further and anticipate the kingdom of God. Here Meekness is least easily thwarted, here the individual's freedom most closely approaches to the entire liberty that belongs to the final glory of mankind, here, therefore, a Christian properly spends much of his wealth.

How different will be the method of such a home, even when it be a wealthy one, from those of the 'worldly'! This opulent age furnishes many examples of a family's education in selfishness. A father, for instance, who has won riches, intending that his children shall not earn their living by the sweat of their brow, interprets this to mean that they are to have all they want that they may 'enjoy themselves.' It is usually of the child of some foolish millionaire that the American papers report that he does not know how to spend his money! They mean that, as he has never learnt to spend money on anything but himself, that narrow object now fails to exhaust his means. How impossible that one set on the furthering of the kingdom of God should in this poverty-stricken world fail to find a worthy use for any number of millions.

Only he must spend toilsome thought on his purpose of making earth into heaven. Christianity justifies a man, indeed, in spending a large part of his fortune upon his own family, but only that he may train his children to be capable pioneers of the kingdom of God, accustomed both to the fit enjoyment of God's rarer gifts and to forgoing them in order to minister to another's deeper need. It is not wrong that a rich man leave his children the opportunity of a life of leisure if he also teach them the right use of leisure. This is a rare and hard achievement to-day, but it will yet become commonplace. Life does not cease to be ministry because a man has 'independent means.'

Another question easily follows. The final state of mankind will include the universal enjoyment of 'every good and perfect gift,' and these are not chiefly bodily pleasures, but the higher joys of science, art, literature. It is not yet possible, however, that all men have the opportunity or the education needed for these joys. Is it lawful that they be meanwhile the peculiar privilege of a few? Shall one study pictures while another lacks daily bread? Shall one visit the Riviera while another sickens in a 'slum'? What of the exclusive enjoyment of 'luxuries'?

The first part of the answer is that 'man does not live by bread alone.' The kingdom of heaven is more than a well-fed mankind; it is a world wherein every side of true human life has its full and its proportionate development; a world, therefore, where the cult of beauty, the

pursuit of truth, and the worship of God, will fill a far larger place than the feeding of the body. These things also have their slow evolution, and few would altogether postpone their development till all men were sure even of their daily bread. For, if there were no culture of the nobler side of human life until food were assured for every one of the billions of the human race, would not man's nobler powers die of atrophy? Christianity is set, not on creating merely an able-bodied mankind, but an able-minded and an able-souled. There is, therefore, already a place in life for 'luxuries' as well as for necessities. It is not easy to illustrate this directly from the New Testament, but it is already implied in the use of the art of music, for instance, in Hebrew worship, and it follows from the universal postulate of both Testaments that even the winning of daily bread is less vital than the enjoyment of God. If, that is, the *highest* of human needs is to take precedence of the lowest, so also may the *higher*; if worship is to forestall food, so, too, in their proportion may science and art. Admiration of Palissy's preference of the search for beauty to the satisfaction of hunger is just. A single New Testament passage can be quoted in partial support. When Mary spilt the precious ointment from the alabaster box upon her Lord's feet there were some who urged that the ointment's worth might better have been given to the poor. Jesus, however, justified Mary. He was not willing that life be beggared of all its gentler ministries even that the poor might eat. There is already room in life for the odour of ointment, the beauty of picture, the

luxury of literature. Man does not 'live by bread alone.'

Yet this is only part of the answer. He who indulges himself or his family in luxuries must be careful that they are worthy luxuries—that they really do minister to a complete human life. Mandeville's theorem that 'private vices' are 'public benefits' has been sustained in practice far oftener than in argument. Christianity condemns waste, extravagance, and display. Man has no right to use anything God has made except to satisfy a true need. When an 'owner' of property's own needs are all met, the needs of others remain. To use 'goods' except to satisfy true need is sacrilege. Further, the meek will take heed that the pursuit even of legitimate luxury does not usurp too large a part of life. They will rather 'fast' from it altogether.¹ It is doubtful, for instance, whether any healthy man or woman should entirely yield his active years to such a thing as travel. Chief of all, a Christian will never use luxury selfishly. In its pursuit he will be set upon the advancement of the Kingdom. His holiday will be for 'recreation' in its literal sense, that through it he may more effectively give himself to the good of men. So, too, the Christian artist will paint his pictures that others may learn how beautiful the world is and enter into its joy. Even self-culture will not be selfish. Does not a man owe it to his Maker to be as fine a man as may be? Besides, the student, for instance, studying to the glory of God, will yet in subtle and far-off ways serve men. The anticipation of perfection by a few is

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 298, and pp. 209 ff. below.

indeed justifiable, but only if it minister to the coming of a universal perfection. The responsibility of privilege holds strictly here. Yet to the meek there is no strictness, for the hastening of a universal perfection is his delight. One of the reasons for the institution of private property, an institution whose legitimacy is assumed in the New Testament,¹ follows from the above discussion. If at last there is to be universal wealth, if every man is to have command of all that he needs for true satisfaction, he needs to learn the art of the control of wealth. How is he to learn this art? The institution of private property is his school. Liberty is an element in the final Ideal, under the definition of full opportunity and capacity to 'realize' the true 'self.'² Such liberty needs appropriate tools, and 'things' are among them. The above paragraphs illustrate some of the ways in which a meek man will use these tools.

But mankind is integrate in societies as well as in individuals, for men are naturally social, and usually societies, as well as individuals, need the use of property if they are to live and flourish. In the last chapter it was seen that in the Ideal all possessions might be said either to belong to the community or to its individual members.³ The 'community' was not there further defined. Ultimately its definition is 'mankind,' for all smaller societies are justifiable only as its fore-runners and instruments.⁴ But in the process of its evolution many such societies exist, nor does it seem possible that they should disappear

¹ pp. 175 f.

² p. 163.

³ *B. D. S.*, pp. 283 ff.

⁴ *B. D. S.*, pp. 235, 308 ff.

on its consummation. Clearly societies as well as individuals need to go to school in the use of 'things'; clearly, both for this reason and others, they, too, need 'possessions.' How are they to get them? Either by the combined work or the common contribution of their members. Here is one side of the way in which the relation of the individual and society to each other raises numerous social problems.¹ The particular problem here in question is not very acute in the instance of 'voluntary societies.' These hold together just because their members share 'a common spirit,'² and because they have a 'common spirit' they agree in common effort to secure the 'property' needed for the society's purposes, and they control it by common consent. If a member differ from the society, he may protest, and, if his protest fail, he may withdraw.* Still, even in the instance of voluntary societies, conflict may occur so long as Meekness is not perfected both in the individual and the society. It is, however, much more likely to occur in the instance of societies to which men belong involuntarily, or to which their adhesion is in part involuntary. These societies claim the right to coerce their members. The State is their type.

This is not the place to discuss the whole question of the Christian justification of the existence of the State, and so of a degree of coercion. It is true that the Ideal admits of no coercion, for freedom is part of its definition, but it is also true that, in the imperfect stages that

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 268.

² *B. D. S.*, pp. 269 ff.

* Cf. Acts vi. 1 ff.

prepare the way for the Ideal, the 'good' may rightly apply some degree of coercion to the 'bad,' lest the latter too much hinder or altogether thwart the coming of the Ideal. In other words, coercion is incident to imperfection, and grows less and less necessary as perfection draws near.¹ In relation to the particular subject here under discussion the pertinent question is, Has the State any right to the wealth of its citizens? Theoretically a second question might be added, Has the State any rights to impose work on its citizens? Historically it has claimed this right also. An example occurs in the history of Israel.² But to-day the State does not usually impose work directly on its subjects. It 'taxes' their wealth, and uses the taxes to pay voluntary labourers to do its work. Is taxation legitimate on the Christian doctrine of society?

It seems inevitable that if the existence of the coercive State be justifiable, its right to tax should be allowed. This right is explicitly admitted in the New Testament.* The texts named require also that a Christian citizen will recognize the right, and that there will be no need to coerce him to pay his taxes. But this is only to open a large subject. How many taxes shall be levied? Of what kind? For what purposes shall they be used? Who shall control them? Who shall decide their number and incidence? A hundred such questions throng. The New Testament does not answer them. It admits that both the individual and societies have 'rights' in property, but it lays

¹ See *B. D. S.*, pp. 326 ff.

² pp. 123 ff.; cf. *Matt.* v. 41.

* *Mark* xii. 17; *Rom.* xiii. 6 f.; cf. *B. D. S.*, p. 334.

down no rule for a permanent division between them ; it implies that in part property is within the control of the State and in part within that of individuals, but it leaves each generation to discover for itself the balance of control best suited to the stage of social development which it has reached.¹ In the long interim of imperfection there may be dispute between two claimants on property, so acute dispute that force must be used to secure a decision. Yet, here as elsewhere, force, however justifiable temporarily, is a sign of imperfection.² The 'harmony' of the individual and society,³ which is to be one of the inevitable marks of the Final Society, will ultimately show itself in the sphere of property as in every other. Meanwhile, the problems of the supply, distribution, and use of property are a part of the discipline of liberty, alike for individuals and societies. Another remark that is of wider scope than this one problem naturally follows. It is vain to seek for ready-made solutions of modern questions in single New Testament texts. None the less the principles that are to guide Christians generation by generation, as they grapple with the social problems of their own time, can be distinguished. The end that is continually to be sought is a world in which every man and society is fit to enjoy, and does enjoy, complete wealth ; until men are fit for this perfection, many imperfections may be tolerated under the principle of Accommodation ; each such imperfection, however, is to be superseded as something more nearly perfect

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 312-315.

² *B. D. S.*, pp. 326-330.

³ *B. D. S.*, pp. 268 ff.

is made practicable. Christianity will at last abolish poverty, and meanwhile will more and more mitigate it; property is for the Christian always and only a tool of ministry.

One word needs to be added. A ministry to whom? Again the Bible's idiosyncrasy appears. For it the ministry of property is primarily a ministry *of God*.¹ There is a term that describes its responsibility—the term 'stewardship.' The religion that reminds every one by its daily prayer that he owes even his 'daily bread' to his 'Father in heaven' is not likely to admit an ownership of property that takes no account of Him. On the contrary, it reminds rich and poor alike that ultimately all wealth derives from God, and that therefore men are answerable to Him for its use. The New Testament shares with the Old the opinion that the giving of alms to men is a duty to God—'To do good and to communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.'² And, apart from such particulars, the whole Christian treatment of possessions as laid out above proceeds upon the postulate that they are among the tools entrusted to men for God's purposes. Their every use is to further in some way the coming of His Kingdom. If, after all, they are a 'man's own,' the whole theory collapses. Wealth is not to be set outside the scope of Jesus' frequent parables of stewardship.³ God is equal to the minute judgement that defies man's law; misused 'gold and silver' shall one day 'eat' its misuser's 'flesh as fire';⁴

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 251 ff., &c.

² Heb. xiii. 16; cf. Matt. vi. 2 ff.; Acts x. 31; 2 Cor. ix. 7; Phil. iv. 18.

³ e.g. Luke xii. 41 ff., xix. 13 ff.; Matt. xx. 1 ff.

⁴ Jas. v. 3.

for their right use, on the other hand, the 'Father that seeth in secret shall recompense.'¹ The use of property is at once a training for 'heaven' and an engine of judgement.

C. Christianity and Exchange

When the Christian Ideal is realized, there will probably be no need for exchange or bargain, or for its instrument, money,² but both are necessary so long as the imperfection of men makes it impossible entirely to practise the Christian kind of communism. Otherwise there would be no guarantee that when 'goods' are consumed other 'goods' have been produced; in consequence mankind's stock of wealth would continually diminish, and ultimately it would prove insufficient for prosperity and progress, or even for life. Christianity, therefore, tolerates and uses exchange by one more great application of the principle of Accommodation.³ And, tolerating it, Christianity must give an account of its right method. The subject really falls under the wider one discussed in the last section, but it is so important that it may be taken separately. If wealth be a tool to 'bring in' the Kingdom, what theory of exchange follows?

The New Testament has little explicitly to say about exchange. This may seem remarkable at first, but it is only a chief instance of the way

¹ Matt. vi. 4.

² p. 162.

³ e.g. Mark vi. 36 f.; John iv. 8, xiii. 29; Rom. xiii. 8. When Jesus uses trade in parable (e.g. Matt. xiii. 44, 45; Luke xix. 11 ff.) His use must not, of course, be held to justify practices otherwise blameworthy any more than His use of bondservice implies its permanence in society. Does an illustration from war to-day require that the preacher includes it in his ideal?

in which that book is content to lay down great principles and to leave the Christians of later ages to apply them to particular problems. Again, an economist would perhaps say, if he were to read the next few paragraphs, that they do not face the difficulty of fixing a standard of value. This is true. There is more than one reason for the omission. One is that the question is too remote from the New Testament thought to be discussed here. Another is that in practice it is assumed that there is such a standard, and it is found that the assumption is sufficient 'to live by.' A third is that from the Christian point of view the problem of exchange is a problem of motive, and the solution that Christianity offers to this problem remains the same whatever answer be given to the puzzle, 'What is the standard of value?'

In exchange a man may follow any one of three rules—he may seek to give less than he gets; or he may seek to give as much as he gets; or he may seek to give more than he gets.¹ The noun appropriate to the first motive is 'theft,' to the second 'justice,' to the third 'grace.' The last is appropriate in spite of its theological sound, or even because of it, for the curious will find that between the second and third there is a relation analogous to that drawn by Paul between 'law' and 'grace.' As God may deal with men either according to justice or according to love, so men may deal in either way with one another.

At first sight many would roundly call a man a thief who seeks in exchange to get more than

¹ The three rules appear side by side in Eph. iv. 28.

he gives, and it is true that robbery and theft are the first crude instances of the practice of this motive. But there are many more. One of them is gambling. Not infrequently it has seemed difficult to say where its exact wrong lies. Some point out that it does not break any one of the Commandments. To this the acute and true answer has been given that gambling bears the same relation to theft as a duel to murder. There is also another answer. How puny is a morality that does not overpass the strait limits of the Commandments! Few of the sins to which the 'respectable' are prone to-day directly break any of the ten. As if these 'rudiments' could exhaust the subtilty of sin! The sin of gambling is that it is impossible for the man who practises it to 'love his neighbour as himself.' Like the thief, he seeks to get a benefit without giving one.¹ It is true that this condemns 'gambling' on the Stock Exchange, and many more habits in modern bargain, but, then, their condemnation, too, is just. To use again a phrase that has been used in an earlier chapter,² a Christian will never in a bargain seek to take advantage either of the ignorance or of the need of his fellow. Did not even the heathen morality of Cicero require as much as this? The applications of such a rule are multitudinous. One of the

¹ Sometimes it is pointed out that in gift also there is no mutual benefit, but, then, in gift a man seeks the exactly opposite end—to give without getting. The man who tries to get a gift is rightly despised. To compare gambling with gift is like comparing a courtesan with a wife or Becky Sharp with a gentlewoman.

² pp. 56 ff.; cf. p. 102.

³ There is an oft-quoted instance of his that assumes the arrival of a corn ship at an almost famine-stricken city; the captain knows that other ships will arrive next day; ought he to tell the citizens this and so lose the high price for his grain? Cicero decides that he ought.

plainest forbids a Christian to buy 'sweated' goods and warns him, therefore, to be chary of very cheap ones.

A difficulty should be named here, not because it can be solved by any general rule, but lest it should seem to have been ignored. It will be said that many a man in commerce has to make up in profit on the sale of some articles what he loses on others, and it will be asked whether in making such profit he is 'getting more than he gives.' Logically it seems clear that if each of these bargains be considered separately, he falls under condemnation. Yet, if the service that his 'business' renders as a whole to society be considered, he may be giving as much as he gets, or more. This is one of the places where duty to an individual 'neighbour' and duty to society seem sometimes to clash. It is an illustration also of the way in which a man is involved in the complexity of the social system to which he belongs. He cannot wholly escape its imperfections. Yet it is his 'calling' to do his utmost to remedy them. In the last resort it is for him to decide how he may best do so.¹ But he cannot be a Christian and acquiesce in an evil system merely because it will 'cost' to alter it. As to the particular question here raised, the least that can be said is that in exchange no Christian will seek to get more than he gives 'on the whole,' and that he will struggle hard not to do so in any particular case.

The second motive has been stated above in the words, 'In exchange a man may seek to *give* as much as he *gets*.' This is mere 'justice.'

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 312 ff.

To-day it is the ostensible and often the actual practice of the world of commerce and industry. No service is done to Christianity by the objurcation of the man who 'denounces the whole system as rotten.' There is much fine integrity in modern 'business' and 'manufacture.' Not the least of its evidences is the disquiet that many a merchant and 'master' and employé would feel if he suspected that in a 'deal' about merchandise or wages he had secured a greater benefit than he gave. It would be claimed by some that the above motive already informs all 'respectable business,' and there is not a little to be said for the claim.

Yet it is subtly easy to interchange two of the words in the phrase at the opening of the last paragraph, and to seek to *get* as much as one *gives*. Under this alternative maxim there still seems to be a search for equality, but in reality it often means that it is for each party to look after his own side of the bargain and his own side only. It is under this assumption that all the self-seeking of modern 'competition' is justified. So a maxim of apparent equality may turn out to mean, 'Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.' Then the seemingly higher level of behaviour readily sinks to the lower, and each man seeks to get more than he gives. The right order of words under the second motive runs, 'A man will seek to *give* as much as he *gets*.' It may, indeed, sometimes be necessary so far to use the principle of Accommodation as to secure a reciprocal service,¹ but even then the Christian will watch

¹ 2 Thess. iii. 10.

himself at least as keenly as his fellows. 'If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye?'¹ It is true that it is often difficult under to-day's conditions to appraise the benefit that accrues to 'the other party,' whether in commercial exchange or in bargain between employer and employed, but the difficulty does not dispense the Christian from the effort. And even if the effort sometimes fail, the motive is still intact. Other practical difficulties, such as the one named above,² crowd here, but they need not degrade endeavour. To *seek* justice in exchange is the Christian minimum.

The applications of this principle, however, are not all severe. It may be used to justify in a later age practices forbidden in an earlier. There is an illustration in 'interest.' Under the name of 'usury' this was altogether forbidden in the Old Testament between two Hebrews. This, however, as has been seen,³ was because in Israel, as always in the East, its abuse was practically universal. The creditor always sought to gain a greater benefit than he gave, and all but always succeeded. The money-lender was an extortioner. So usury was prohibited on the same ground as statutory⁴—because for a nation, as for a man, it is sometimes well to discard even the inherently useful if its misuse be inveterate. The New Testament, too, has its condemnations of 'extortion,'⁵ but as the Christian does not hesitate to put statutory to a right use, so, if a good use could be found for

¹ Matt. v. 46.

² p. 201.

³ pp. 105 ff.

⁴ Exod. xx. 4.

⁵ e.g. Mark xii. 40 ; Matt. xxiii. 25 ; 1 Cor. vi. 10.

money-lending, there is no reason in the ancient prohibition why it should not now be practised.¹ And it is impossible to deny that sometimes a loan at interest is an equal advantage to the lender and to the borrower. Is not this clearly so, for instance, in many modern 'companies'? Again, has there never been a pawnbroker who was a philanthropist? At the same time, to engage in such occupations as the last is to use edged tools. Only the sure-footed, to change the figure, should run along the edge of a cliff.

Yet a third and higher motive still is possible in bargain—a man may seek to give more than he gets. This is just the application of Meekness to exchange. It anticipates the final communism. The true Christian, while he may for a while submit to practise in part mere justice under the necessities of an imperfect state, will always practise in part the love that is his nature, in commerce as everywhere else, and will ever seek to practise it more completely. In other words, he will ever seek to give rather than to exchange. This is the temper of his God, and to its actions alone the word 'give,' in its high sense, belongs. Its question is not 'What does that other man deserve?' but 'What does he need?' In Christian communism exchange will be fully transfigured into gift. Of this state every true gift is a minute anticipation.

As this kind of motive is often reckoned 'impracticable,' it is worth while to recall some

¹ The reference in Luke xix. 23 to 'interest,' however, cannot be pleaded as a direct justification of it by Jesus, or as His endorsement of its permanence. Many a speaker uses illustrations from customs without thereby implying that he approves of them. Modern illustrations from slavery would furnish examples. Cf. p. 198, footnote 3.

of the ways in which it is already practised. It has been the rule of home for ages.¹ In a true home a child receives as a gift what it needs. Again, even the State begins to govern its conduct to the child by the same principle. In some countries every child receives a large part of the education that it needs, whether its parents are able to pay for the education or not. Even the 'Poor Law' could be used as an elementary instance. The 'relief' that it gives it offers to all who need it. In the 'minimum wage' there is another and better illustration of the recognition of the principle by the State. Again, the succours of a hospital are ready at every man's need, however poor he is. Similarly, almsgiving that gives only according to desert is not wholly Christian. It may exhibit justice, but it is innocent of love. The story of Scrooge teaches so much. Or, again, do not the Churches offer Christ to man's need 'of free grace'? It may not be possible immediately to apply the principle of Meekness fully to the world of exchange, but neither is it possible to fence off that world wholly and perpetually from its sway. Meekness claims all human life. The Christian man and the Christian community are only Christian if they seek to apply the Christian motive everywhere. They may for long tolerate an imperfection, but they only tolerate it while they undermine it. Not 'bargain' but 'ministry' is the final word about property. Christians will endure and use the former so long as the imperfections of society make it necessary, but they will already begin, in every possible way, to rise to the higher custom.

¹ Cf. p. 160.

It is not without reason that the New Testament has hardly a word to say about bargain. Already even in an imperfect world, the Christian *motive*, in this realm as everywhere else, should be Meekness.

It may be said that only one of the instances of the practice of 'gift according to need' quoted in the last paragraph belongs to the world of commerce and industry, and that it is in that world that the rule, 'Seek to give more than you get,' or even the rule, 'Seek to give as much as you get,' is 'impracticable.' In answer it may be pointed out that the admission that there is a place for Accommodation in this sphere yields the point that the search does not yet always succeed. But some say that even to *seek* to practise Meekness in commerce and industry is absurd. In fact not a few Christian men are already quietly making the endeavour. Yet the claim that there are circumstances in which it is impossible to be a Christian and to make one's living is probably valid. This is especially so if a Christian seek, as he ought, to reduce the area of Accommodation and to practise Meekness where it has not been practised before. In this sore strait Christian teaching is quite clear. Jesus once told a man to forgo all that he had so that he might be a true disciple.¹ It is indeed likely that the world of commerce will not be won for Meekness until some have 'gone to the workhouse' for Meekness' sake. And to those who urge a further and more poignant plea, 'It is not for my own living that I do it,

¹ Mark x. 21. The burning of the costly books of magic at Ephesus is an illustration on a smaller scale (Acts xix. 19 ; contrast vv. 25 f.).

but for the wife and bairns,' even to them Jesus, who was love incarnate, has His stern answer: 'He that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me.'¹ Besides, is it not better for a son or a daughter to inherit a great example of sacrifice than a fortune? In this sphere, too, the next step in the advance towards perfection will perhaps only be won by martyrdom. Here also, by the Cross of one or a few, the Kingdom will be won for the many. It is undoubtedly much easier to write this than to do it, yet not to write it would be false. Property is a tool of the Kingdom; men lay aside a tool when it ceases to serve; to cling to possessions when they do not minister to God's purposes is to 'lay up treasures on earth.'

D. Christian Abstinence

The whole study of the Bible doctrine of wealth, from the earliest period to the latest, implies that there is no worth in asceticism *per se*, for the postulate of asceticism is just that the body and the world of things are evil, or at least worthless, and this directly contradicts the teaching of Scripture that all that God has made is good and that wealth is desirable. When, therefore, the early Church was threatened by asceticism, Paul denounced it roundly.² This does not mean, however, that the Christian will never abstain from anything. He will abstain from everything that would harm his body or soul—that is, from poison, slow or quick, and

¹ Matt. x. 37; cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 339-341.

² Col. ii. 16, 20-23; 1 Tim. iv. 1 ff.

from sin, open or secret—and under the principle of Accommodation he will also practise two other kinds of abstinence.

He will abstain from anything ‘good in itself’ if it be an ‘occasion of stumbling’ to himself or to others over whom he has influence. This is the doctrine of the σκάνδαλον so clearly enunciated by Jesus¹: ‘If thy hand cause thee to stumble, cut it off; it is good for thee to enter into life maimed, rather than having two hands to go into hell, into the unquenchable fire’; ‘Whosoever shall cause one of these little ones that believe on Me to stumble, it were better for him that a great millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.’² Jesus’ other references to the ‘stumbling-block’ have a like severity.³ He once applied the principle, without using the word, directly to wealth. To the Rich Young Ruler wealth was a ‘stumbling-block’; Jesus therefore bade him be rid of it.⁴

The doctrine passed from the Master to the apostles. This appears both from some sporadic references⁵ and from Paul’s direct application of the principle to a problem that troubled more than one of his churches—‘Is it lawful for a Christian to eat meats that have been dedicated to idols, and, if lawful, is it expedient?’ The apostle answers that it is lawful, for an idol is nothing to a Christian, but not ‘expedient,’ or rather ‘helpful,’ if the practice cause a weak

¹ The teaching is the same whether σκάνδαλον be translated ‘stumbling-block’ or ‘snare.’

² Mark ix. 43, 42.

³ Matt. xiii. 41, xvi. 23, xviii. 7.

⁴ Mark x. 17 ff.

⁵ Rom. xvi. 17; 1 John ii. 10; Rev. ii. 14.

brother to stumble.¹ As already seen, there are examples of the application of the same principle on a national scale in the Old Testament in the prohibitions of statuary and moneylending.

Yet the statement of this doctrine would not be complete if no note were taken of another use of the term 'stumbling-block.' The Jew made a 'stumbling-block' of the Cross of Christ.² By His very death, therefore, Jesus might have been said to 'put a stumbling-block in His brother's path,' for it was certain that the Jew would 'stumble at' the Cross. Clearly anything may be a stumbling-block to some one or other. Clearly, too, the responsibility for 'stumbling' at a deed may lie with the stumbler rather than the doer of the deed, or it may lie partly with each. Here there is another realm of difficult decisions, and here again each Christian must finally decide for himself. The norm of his decision, however, will always be the question, 'Shall I best further the Kingdom by the use of this thing or by abstinence from it?' and not, 'Shall I best please myself by its use or disuse?'

The other Christian use of abstinence obeys the rule that a man ought to abstain from a lower kind of good if thereby he may secure a higher kind. This is a definition of 'fasting' in the wider sense and the ground of 'fasting' in the narrower. If a Christian abstain from food because he thinks abstinence good, he is rather a Hindu than a Christian; if he abstain in order that by the lowness of his body he may the more thoroughly repent of sin, he is a Christian

¹ Rom. xiv. ; 1 Cor. viii.

² Rom. ix. 33 ; 1 Cor. i. 23 ; Gal. v. 11 ; 1 Pet. ii. 8.

indeed. This particular kind of fasting will perhaps revive in the Church with the renewal of the sense of the 'exceeding sinfulness of sin.' Both Jesus and Paul applied the principle to another appetite.¹ It is Christian also to use abstinence, as *ἀσκησις* in the strict sense, the 'exercise' of *self-discipline*. A Christian will watch himself that no luxury become his master, and, if any threaten to do so, he will abstain from it, for a while at least, that he may be lord of himself.² Again, a Christian will use this kind of abstinence, as well as the preceding one, not only for his own sake, but his brother's; he will himself forgo some lower good if another may thereby gain a higher. Was not this the reason why the Son of God chose to be poor?³ Fasting, both in its narrower and wider senses, is, after all, but a single illustration of the Christian's paramount devotion to the Kingdom. For that he will forgo, as he will suffer, anything. When any modern Christian hesitates to deny himself some bodily satisfaction for the Kingdom's sake, he should turn, not so much to the few New Testament passages about fasting, as to Paul's catalogue of his sufferings, or, finally, to the stories of Gethsemane and Calvary. The apostle himself makes this very transition for the other kind of abstinence: 'Destroy not with thy *food* him for whom Christ *died*.'⁴ It applies equally to fasting. God Himself uses the same principles when He adjudges poverty or sorrow to His children. He withholds a good because it would be abused, or He withholds a less good because

¹ Matt. xix. 12; 1 Cor. vii. 5.³ Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 8; 2 Tim. ii. 3 f.² 2 Cor. viii. 9.⁴ Rom. xiv. 15.

its enjoyment would prevent a greater or delay its perfecting.

From the Accommodational use of abstinence it is easy to see how Jesus could assume that fasting would be a normal part of Christian devotion,¹ and yet deny that it was suitable at a particular time.² It was unnatural for the disciples to fast while 'the bridegroom' was with them, but its time would come.³ So it was fitting for the Baptist to practise some abstinences that were unsuited to Jesus Himself.⁴ The application of these principles differs with different men, different times, different places. The choice of his own abstinences is left to each Christian. If he be 'seeking first the kingdom of God,' he will not go astray. Here, too, Christians help each other by counsel rather than by censure.

Both these kinds of Christian abstinence are by their very nature temporary, for they are abstinences from things in themselves good. Even if a Christian practise a life-long abstinence, this is still so, for his outlook is eternal. In the final society no good thing will ever be a 'stumbling-block' to any. Again, the leisure of eternity will make it needless to forgo a lower kind of good to gain a higher; each will have fit opportunity; both will have their appropriate place in perfection. It will integrate every kind of good.

How is the Accommodational to pass into the perfect, and when shall the temporary give way to the eternal? It is less likely that these changes will come by sudden revolution than

¹ Matt. vi. 16.

² Cf. Luke ii. 37.

³ Mark ii. 18 ff.

⁴ Luke vii. 33.

that they will proceed slowly and piecemeal. The earnest Christian in the Middle Ages 'fasted' from money and became a monk, that thereby he might gain the Kingdom; the modern Christian usually strives rather to find for money its fit place in life. He attempts more completely than his mediaeval brother to anticipate perfection. Which is right? Again, how are the things that are now stumbling-blocks to be rescued from their evil use? Will they not gradually escape abuse? Has this not been so in many lands with painting and sculpture already? Is not the justification of the Christian abrogation of the Hebrew law against interest on loans the claim that a Christian world finds a good use for this much-abused system? This leads to a practical conclusion. It is inevitable that Christian opinion will differ sometimes whether the time has come for the redemption of some good thing from evil use or the inclusion of some less good in life. To take a modern instance, one Christian will think that the deliverance of the theatre from the association of sin is now proceeding, and that he can best further the Kingdom by assisting so far as he may in that deliverance; another will hold that it is still so often a snare that he must forgo its pleasure and even denounce its influence. Each will answer at last for himself to the one Judge, and the prime duty of each is to keep his motive pure. The one must take heed lest in his use of the theatre he come insensibly to acquiesce in its evil associations, the other lest his condemnation fall on the good along with the evil. It is for both to seek the Kingdom's ends.

The commonest application of the principle of abstinence in England to-day is to alcohol. What does the Bible say of this?¹ It is perhaps likely that medical science will at length class all 'alcoholic drinks' with poisons, and so bring them under the things from which a man will of course abstain because they are themselves harmful, but there is no hint of this discovery in the Bible. There wine is reckoned a good thing.² Yet there are instances of abstinence from it. First there is the ancient abstinence of the Nazirite and the Rechabite.³ Both added other abstinences. The Nazirite kept his head unshorn; he 'came not near' a dead body; sometimes he seems to have denied himself bread.⁴ The Rechabite refused to 'build house,' to 'sow seed,' to 'plant vineyard.' Again, the Nazirites' abstinences, at least sometimes, were temporary.⁵ It is plain that in these instances abstinence from 'strong drink' did not base upon any scientific theory of its harmfulness. Rather there are here vestiges of the unreasoning asceticism of unlettered peoples. Yet primitive practices are often purblind fumbings after true principles, and it is not foolish to see in the practices of the Nazirite an uncouth anticipation of the truth that anything must be forgone that hinders the full service of God, and in the abstinences of the Rechabite a nomadic protest against the tendency of 'civilization' to degrade.

¹ On this subject it is convenient to take the teaching of the whole Bible, Old Testament as well as New, together at this point. Cf. p. 110, footnote 1.

² e.g. Lev. xxiii. 13; Ps. civ. 15; John ii. 1 ff.

³ Num. vi. 3 ff.; Jer. xxxv.

⁴ Luke vii. 33.

⁵ Num. vi. 18, 20.

So interpreted, these two instances of 'teetotalism' hint crudely at the doctrine of abstinence drawn out above. Again, the Levitical prohibition of 'strong drink' to a priest while about the duty of the 'Holy Place' ¹ is expressly made one of the things that were to separate the 'unclean and the clean.' It is hard to say more of these as a whole than that it is sometimes useful to have even arbitrary outward signs of spiritual truths, yet it may well be that the particular prohibition of alcohol had its *rationale* in the ancient association of feasting with worship. An older law bade that the Levite be called to the merrymaking when a family worshipped Jehovah²; it was important that he did not pass from the meal to the Temple drunken, for before the date of this ordinance the denunciations of the Prophets had made drunkenness a shame in Israel.³ Indeed, there are hints that from the beginning of this people's national life there had been some slur upon it.⁴ By the time of Jesus it had long been both disreputable and rare among the Jews, and it has remained so to this day.

Here is the reason why the principle of Accommodation did not require of Jesus the particular abstinence from alcohol. Drunkenness was not a 'besetting sin' of His people in His time. He had other applications of the principle of abstinence, of course. For instance, He chose to be poor.⁵ Indeed, the Incarnation

¹ Lev. x. 9 ff.; Ezek. xlv. 20 ff.

² e.g. Deut. xii. 12.

³ e.g. Joel i. 5; Hos. iv. 11; Isa. xxviii. 1; Deut. xxi. 20.

⁴ p. 110, footnote 1.

⁵ Cf. Matt. iv. 3 f., viii. 20, xvii. 24 ff.; Luke viii. 3.

itself was abstinence.¹ In the Gentile world of His day, as distinct from the Jewish, drunkenness was rife enough, as some Pauline warnings show.² To Christians in that world the apostle wrote, 'It is good not to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor to do anything whereby thy brother stumbleth.'³ There is evidence that his advice was at least sometimes taken, and that there were 'teetotalers' among the first Gentile Christians.⁴ Yet the very text that shows this justifies at least the medicinal use of wine, and there is no evidence how far 'teetotalism' extended. It may be that the common application of Christian principle to this subject, as to slavery, awaited later days. If the principle of abstinence does not apply to-day to 'strong drink' in England, it would seem as if it could apply to nothing.

The reference just made to Jesus' poverty recalls another type of abstinence—abstinence from wealth, or voluntary poverty. This is not the place to record the long story of Christian Monasticism, or to distinguish the various ways and degrees in which it has enjoined the practice of poverty. The subject has more than once come into view above,⁵ and the section entitled 'A Tool of the Kingdom' will have suggested the writer's answer to the question, 'Ought a Christian to be poor?'⁶ Wealth is a tool, and tools are meant to be used. But not all know how to use them; and even those who do know how to use a tool sometimes leave it unused.

¹ Phil. ii. 7.

² Rom. xiv. 21.

³ e.g. pp. 190, 206 f.

⁴ Eph. v. 16; 1 Cor. v. 11.

⁵ 1 Tim. v. 23.

⁶ Cf. B. D. S., pp. 298 f.

A carpenter does not feel obliged to use every tool in his 'bass' in each of his 'jobs'! Jesus made it quite clear that the use of the tool of wealth is peculiarly hard—'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God.' He also taught that there are men who for their own sakes ought to choose to be poor.¹ His example, again, showed that sometimes men should choose to be poor for others' sakes.² In other words, wealth may fall under the rule of the 'stumbling-block.' In modern England it is the only competitor with alcohol for an evil primacy among 'occasions of stumbling.' Its temptation, however, is not generally to be met, like alcohol's, by total abstinence. There may be exceptional cases where this hard duty falls,³ but it is of course impossible that this abstinence be universal. The usual challenge to-day is not to a *total* abstinence from wealth, but to a *partial* one. This challenge may come in more than one way. One of them is commonly recognized. The Christian who has 'made a fortune' is expected to be a philanthropist—that is, to reduce his own wealth for the sake of the poor. And gradually it is coming to be admitted that he ought to reduce it, not in the meagre way of forgoing 'superfluities,' but by a self-denial that can be called a real 'cross.' But a Christian may be challenged to a partial abstinence from wealth not only after he has 'made a fortune,' but before he has 'made' one, or even if he never 'makes' one. Eager, of course, rather to serve his fellow men by his daily enterprises than to

¹ Mark ix. 43 ff.

² Cf. pp. 206 f.

³ Cf. 2 Cor. viii. 9.

‘make a fortune,’ or even to ‘earn a living,’ he will sometimes pursue the former end at the expense of the latter. Not a few Christian men already quietly do this. The common recognition of it as a normal Christian duty is a clamant need. There is a Protestant doctrine of abstinence from wealth. Few things would as greatly help the cause of Christ to-day as the example of, say, ten thousand able men who in the world of commerce and industry clearly refused even to seek a ‘fortune.’

E. Christianity and Toil

While the New Testament has no set discussion of ‘class distinctions,’¹ there are in it some significant references to the greatest of such distinctions—that between the bond and the free—and the principles that these references imply have applications to other ‘class distinctions.’ There are also some references, though they are fewer and more allusive, to ‘hire,’ which under the later name of ‘wages’ suggests the primary ‘class distinction’ of to-day—that between employer and employed. In an earlier chapter² a line was drawn within the general mass of wage-earners between those who ‘draw wages’ for doing work that they like and those who are hired to do work that they do not like. As the term ‘toil’ is used in this book for ‘unwelcome work,’ it might be applied either to the work of the slave or to that of the second class of wage-earner just distinguished. For the

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 320 ff.

² pp. 97, 126.

latter the name 'hirelings' may still be conveniently used.

Both in history and logic slavery and hire go together. Modern thought, indeed, separates them, because it counts the first evil and avoidable, the second inevitable and justifiable. It may be possible to vindicate this distinction 'for the time being' under the principle of Accommodation, by claiming that, just as slavery was a 'necessary imperfection' at an earlier stage in social evolution,¹ so hire is a 'necessary imperfection' now. It may also be maintained that of these two 'imperfections,' hire, at least under the conditions of the modern Western world, is the less 'evil.' Yet both are coercions. It is true that the coercion of slavery is direct while the coercion of hire is indirect, for 'society' used to enforce slavery, while only 'circumstances' coerce the hireling. This difference, however, does not make the 'hire system' incoercive. The New Testament, like the Old, takes both slavery and hire for granted, and knows nothing of the modern distinction that condemns one but justifies the other. Yet, since the New Testament Ideal is an ideal of liberty,² and since both slavery and hire are coercions, both are imperfect, and both must at last pass away. When men assert the 'impossibility' of the disappearance of hire, thinkers remember that for millenniums men made the same assertion about slavery. Christian thinkers in particular, looking back from an age that has abolished the one but preserved the other to an age that presupposed both but whose Ideal doomed both,

¹ e.g. pp. 33, 76.

² B. D. S., pp. 246 ff.

maintain the hope of the ultimate extinction of all unwelcome work.¹ The coercion of 'circumstance' that makes men hirelings is in the long run the coercion of hunger, for the multitudes of Europe now plod daily to their tasks because only so can they 'earn' their daily bread. Civilization, that is, revolted at last by slavery, has used hunger to set the hireling to the slave's old drudgeries. While this has, on the whole, been a change for the better, yet the problem of slavery and the problem of hire are both forms of the one problem of toil.

The 'wage-earner' in Palestine in Jesus' day was usually a hireling—a man driven by 'circumstances' to unwelcome work—if the few New Testament references are a safe guide. The most famous hireling in literature is the Prodigal Son, for it seems clear that it was as a hireling that he went into a stranger's field 'to feed swine.' In the minds of the first hearers of the parable this obvious detail would lend poignancy to the implied contrast in the phrases, 'How many hirelings of *my father's*!' and 'Make me as one of *thy* hirelings.' It is true that this contrast shows that some hirelings were well treated, that some had 'bread enough and to spare,' but the alien master of the 'far country,' rather than the 'father' of the Prodigal, was the typical 'employer' of the time.² There is another picture of the hireling of our Lord's environment in the Parable of the Labourers

¹ Cf. chap. V. B.

² It is another of the fine 'touches' of the story that, not the returning 'prodigal,' but his elder brother, has the spirit of a hireling. 'These many years do I serve thee . . . ' (Luke xv. 29).

in the Vineyard.¹ Here the unskilled labourers wait in the 'market-place' for the fortuitous day's work and take 'pot-luck' whether they are hired or not.² There is another hint of the hireling's condition in the Epistle of James, which, quite in the Old Testament fashion, has a 'woe' on those who hold back the hireling's wages.³ In contrast the many references to the slaves of Palestine in the Synoptic Gospels almost uniformly present them as holding positions of trust.⁴ For instance, one of the most common of the simple *dramatis personae* of Jesus' parables is the bondman whose lord has given him a responsible charge.⁵ The word 'boy' or 'child,' again, was a synonym for 'slave.'⁶ Paul could say, 'So long as the heir is a child, he differeth nothing from a bond-servant,'⁷ and Jesus could treat His disciples' relation to Him as parallel to that of a slave to his master.⁸ It seems possible, therefore, that among the Jews of Jesus' time the relation of master and bondman was sometimes or even usually kindlier than that between wage-earner

¹ Matt. xx. 1 ff.

² Cf. pp. 160 f.

³ Jas. v. 4.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 20 presupposes the ill-treatment of slaves by some masters in the lands of 'the Dispersion,' and, of course, there is plenty of evidence in secular writers that it was common, through far from universal, in the Roman Empire.

⁵ e.g. Mark xii. 2 ff.; Luke xii. 35 ff., 41 ff., xiv. 17 ff., xix. 12 ff.; Matt. xviii. 23 ff., xxv. 14 ff.

⁶ Luke xii. 45, xv. 26; Matt viii. 5 ff., and the passages in Acts where this term translates the עַבְד of Deutero-Isaiah's 'Servant of the Lord' (Acts iii. 13, &c.). In the story of the Centurion's Bondman, while Matthew uses this synonym throughout, Luke with a subtler insight prefers the ordinary word 'slave' in the narrative, but substitutes 'child' when he quotes the master's own plea for his bondman's life (Luke vii. 7).

⁷ Gal. iv. 1.

⁸ Matt. x. 24 f.; cf. John xv. 15.

and wage-giver.¹ There is another striking fact. The new religion found it natural to use the word 'slave' to express the Christian's relation to God.² Could it have used 'hireling'? It seems clear that there might be instances where a hireling was in a worse position than a slave, and, in any case, from the point of view of the Christian Ideal, unwilling toil of either kind is an imperfection. While Christians will always delight to 'serve,' there will come a time when the hiring of unwilling men to unwelcome toil, at a price fixed by the degree of their necessity, will seem as 'unnatural' as does slavery to-day. If any would understand why Christianity still tolerates toil he must inquire why it once tolerated slavery. He will then find that toleration may proceed through transfiguration to abolition, and that the instrument of this process is Meekness.

The ground of Christianity's ancient toleration of slavery may be put in a few words. On the one hand, slavery did not refuse either the Master or the slave the enjoyment of God,³ and, on the other, none could as yet see how society could exist without it. Even the modern historian claims that ancient society could not have *flourished* without it. The gifts of classical

¹ Probably, however, the harsh treatment meted out to the hireling was confined to the agricultural labourer. There is another word for subordinates in general (*ὑπηρέτης*), who, of course, often received wages (cf. Luke iii. 14), and it could be used even of military officers (e.g. John xviii. 18). The mutual trust of master and slave would reach its height with the *οικέτης* or 'household slave' (e.g. Acts x. 7; Matt. xxiv. 45). Cf. p. 33, &c.

² Acts iv. 29, xvi. 17; Gal. i. 10; Rom. i. 1, &c.; 2 Tim. ii. 24; Jas. i. 1.; 1 Pet. ii. 16; Jude 1; Rev. vi. 11, xix. 10, xxii. 9; cf. Luke ii. 29, xii. 35 ff.; Matt. x. 24 f.; Rom. vi. 16-22.

³ *B. D. S.*, pp. 309 f.

civilization to mankind in art, literature, and law were the fruits of the leisure of the small society of freemen in Greece and Rome, and it was the slave that redeemed them from toil. Only a leisured class—a class unabsorbed in the unworthy tasks of human life—could have produced a Pheidias or a Virgil. The posterity that enjoys the boon without enduring the task easily condemns the means, yet not only was slavery then indispensable to progress, but every one thought that it would always exist. Ancient writers do not argue but assume this, a sure token that they regarded it as obvious. Even the Apostle Paul sent back a fugitive slave to his master.¹ Slavery seemed as natural then as unnatural now, and its justification then was the same as the justification of other drudgery now. Both are tools of imperfection, to be discarded as soon as evolution towards perfection allows, but meanwhile to be used. It will be best now to discuss slavery separately, and then to ask how far the principles so discovered can be applied also to ‘hire.’

That a slave might be a Christian—that is, that the fellowship of God was open to him—appears from the several apostolic exhortations to slaves in the Epistles.² Their uniform tenor is that Christian slaves were to remain contentedly in slavery—a uniformity hardly broken by Paul’s admission on a single occasion that, as liberty is better than slavery, a Christian slave should not refuse an opportunity of freedom

¹ Philem. 12.

² Eph. vi. 5–8 ; Col. iii. 22–25 ; 1 Tim. vi. 1 f. ; Titus ii. 9 f. ; 1 Pet. ii. 18 ff.

nor a Christian freeman choose to become a slave.¹ Further, the Pauline letters presuppose that a Christian might be a slave-owner. Not only the injunctions to 'masters,'² but the decisive instance of Philemon, prove this. The ground of toleration is explicitly stated more than once—'For in one spirit were we all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free; and were all made to drink of one Spirit.'³ For the fellowship of God these distinctions did not count. A slave might begin to be like God, might be 'in Christ,' might receive the Spirit,⁴ and so might his master. Inasmuch, therefore, as the institution of slavery did not deny Christ to any, Christianity for a time tolerated it.

Yet if this were all, the sneer that Christianity is merely 'other-worldly' would be justified. New Testament teaching about slavery does not exhaust itself in the stagnant dictum, 'Be content with your station.' It adds the fruitful precept, 'Let both master and slave be meek.' In slavery there is a typical instance of the working of the Christian social temper. Meekness being the spirit of the man who forgoes and forgets the limited end of his own perfection to give himself to the larger end of the kingdom of God, it ensues that the apostolic admonitions to masters and slaves are just admonitions to Meekness. 'Slaves . . . whatsoever ye do, work from the soul, as unto the Lord, and not unto men.'⁵ It is true that this high aim is invoked

¹ 1 Cor. vii. 21-24.

² Eph. vi. 9; Col. iv. 1.

³ 1 Cor. xii. 13; cf. Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11; Acts ii. 18.

⁴ B. D. S., pp. 238-246.

⁵ Col. iii. 22 f.; cf. Eph. vi. 5 ff.

to deliver Christian slaves from the mean sins that slavery spawns, 'eye-service' and 'purloining,'¹ yet, while the true worship of God scotches these, beneath the apostolic injunction there lies, too, the teaching that even a slave's toil, being necessary for the welfare of mankind, may therefore be elevated through willing service into a ministry of Christ. Peter, indeed, directly compares the Christian slave's meek suffering to the Cross of Christ.² He finds even in it, if it be borne from the right motive, an instance of 'the ministry of undeserved disadvantage.' Here is the utter scope of a principle recognized, though sparsely applied, in the last Old Testament period—that any task becomes worthy of a free man if it be undertaken for the glory of God.³ In the New Testament Epistles less is said of the Meekness of masters—no doubt because their number in the early Church was small—but there is the compensation of Paul's letter to a slave-owner. Is not the Epistle to Philemon just the sunny recommendation of Meekness? Onesimus was still a slave, but he was to be treated as a 'brother beloved.'⁴ Christianity could tolerate slavery for a time because by Meekness even it might be transfigured.

Yet neither is this the whole of the New Testament's message. Part of its teaching about Meekness is that he who seeks the great end of the Kingdom will in its fruition find included a true 'self-realization,' and freedom both of mind and body is, of course, an element therein.⁵ This is not omitted in the brief treatment of

¹ Eph. vi. 6; Titus ii. 10.⁴ Philem. 16.² 1 Pet. iii. 18.³ Chap. IV. B.⁵ B. D. S., pp. 5 ff., 246 ff., &c.

slavery. Paul adds to his commendation of hearty service this sanction, 'Knowing that from the Lord ye shall receive the recompense of the inheritance; ye are bondmen of the Lord Christ.' When Christians received 'the inheritance' would they still be slaves? Similarly another Epistle, passing from a particular problem to a high principle, justifies its exhortation to 'slaves' to 'be in subjection to their own masters' by an appeal to 'the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a people for His own possession, zealous of good works.' Were there to be bondmen among the 'people for [Christ's] own possession'? Just as many Christians to-day assume that in heaven one 'impossible' feat will be accomplished—the abolition of hire—so the first Christians assumed that the Kingdom would achieve another—the abolition of slavery. Jesus' gentle saying has a literal application: 'Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Historically the passing of slavery has not awaited the consummation of the Kingdom, but has come in one of the stages thereto; perhaps by ways still longer hidden the passing of hire may anticipate the end as well. Christianity must at last abolish toil in every form.⁴

Again, whenever Meekness was practised between master and slave, the reality of slavery would tend to disappear though the name might survive. For the Christian slave, seeking his

¹ Col. iii. 24.

² Matt. xi. 28.

³ Titus ii. 9-14.

⁴ Chap. V. B.

master's benefit as his own in the one search for the Kingdom, served with a free spirit, and the coercion that makes slavery disappeared. So the Christian master, anxious for his slave's welfare, willing to forgo his own benefit if thereby even for a slave he might further the Kingdom, would so become his slave's willing servant. It is easy to see that manumission would gradually become common under such an impulse. It may seem surprising to-day that centuries elapsed before it was complete, but it is to be remembered that through them the Church was labouring at the task of teaching the wild men of Europe the elements of the faith. Only when this was done could any of the further consequences of Christianity win full attention. It was no small thing that the Church secured the mediaeval abolition of serfdom so nearly bloodlessly. Even those whose hardihood refuses her the glory of the abolition of American slavery cannot deny her this achievement in Europe.¹ In spite of all criticism of the motive of mediaeval manumission, there is here a characteristic instance of redemption through Meekness. Religion slowly made all men free.² Was the first instance Philemon's manumission of Onesimus?

Even within the age of the Bible one sphere of life saw the passage from slavery to freedom. The worshipper in 'ethnic' religion often descends to the cringing of a slave. But even

¹ Cf. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, chap. iv.

² In Antigua the slave-owners learnt to encourage the evangelization of their slaves, so when a gradual emancipation was being tried in the West Indies, the Antiguan Legislature was able to ask for an 'unrestricted' one on the ground of the slaves' 'state of religious and social improvements' (Findlay's *Wesley's World Parish*, p. 51).

slaves do not always sink to this, and already in the first of the Old Testament periods Israel outgrew it. Yet the Hebrew always stood to Jehovah in the milder relation of a bondman to his master in a typical Hebrew home. While its bondmen were members of the household, and sometimes held places of trust, yet they remained their master's absolute property. They were liable to coercion. So, though the Israelite 'under law' knew Jehovah's care, and some choice spirits even enjoyed His fellowship, the Old Testament Hebrew was still 'subject to bondage.' For example, the root of Jesus' protest against the Jewish use of the Sabbath was that its manifold prohibitions subdued its joy into a kind of slavery. It was worship in bonds! From this bondage, from its final vestige, Christianity delivered men. He who shares God's perfect Spirit needs no forcing to His will, for it is his own joy.¹ The Christian, exchanging the 'spirit of bondage' for the 'spirit of adoption,'² might still delight to call himself the Lord's 'slave,' but now his 'service was perfect freedom.' So, in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus says to His own, 'No longer do I call you slaves; for the slave knoweth not what his lord doeth; but I have called you friends.'³ It is apposite to quote again the great text in which the Apocalypse unites with 'slave' a term that originally denoted the service of a hireling, but came also to denote worship—'His slaves shall do Him service.'⁴ Here the transfiguration of toil is

¹ *B. D. S.*, pp. 246 ff.

² *Rom.* viii. 15.

³ *John* xv. 15.

⁴ *Cf.* p. 169. The verb *λατρεύειν* derives from *λάτρυς*, a hired servant, and in secular books means sometimes 'to serve for hire' and

complete. Willingness has made it fellowship.

As among the first Christians fellowship with God was open to all, whether bond or free, it followed that when the Church gathered to worship the distinction of master and slave lapsed. In the Church in Philemon's house¹ the master could not refuse to Onesimus any religious privilege that he himself enjoyed. A passage in First Corinthians, stating that within the Church at Corinth there were both slaves and freemen, develops in the same breath the interdependence of its members.² In a true Church, wrote the apostle, every Christian is every other's minister. This would have no meaning at all if, apart of course from practical difficulties, the slaves had been debarred as slaves from any of the common ministries. The argument requires that a slave might be a 'worker of miracles,' a 'teacher,' a 'prophet,' or even an 'apostle.'³ But this means that Christianity is naturally fatal to slavery. If two be equal with God, shall they be for ever unequal among men? Centuries were needed for the discovery and application of this truth, but this will only astonish those who forget that, though history is at last severely logical, yet its logic is often impenitently slow. It has long been known that Christianity will at last inevitably end war, yet how tediously its destruction comes! Nor is such delay always

sometimes 'to serve in worship,' but the latter is its uniform meaning both in LXX and the New Testament.

¹ Philem. 2.

² 1 Cor. xii. 12 ff.

³ Of the next generation Harnack says, 'Slaves were entrusted with the most influential offices in the Church' (*The Social Gospel*, p. 26), and this may have been so in apostolic times too. Cf. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, vol. ii., pp. 66 ff.

altogether blameworthy. Christianity's toleration and use of these things is in some ways like its God's toleration and use of pain. They disappear, not simply, but with their causes. None the less, equality in worship meant the far-away doom of slavery.

The discussion of slavery, then, reaches two conclusions. The first is that liberty with God slowly drew after it liberty among men; the second that, pending this evolution, both slavery and its complementary 'mastery' might be transfigured by Meekness into a ministry of God.¹ May not these two things be said also about hire? Early Christianity did not require the sudden extinction of the difference between hireling and leisured any more than between bond and free. Paul had a sharp word for the shirker of work, — 'If any will not work, neither let him eat,'² — yet he justified the exclusion of apostles from the ordinary tasks of men — 'Even so did the Lord ordain that they which proclaim the gospel should live of the gospel.'³ In other words, he held that the meek toil of the many is to support the equally meek leisure of a few, if this best serve the Kingdom.⁴ Jesus Himself was the first Christian instance.⁵ Yet, as already seen, hire as well as slavery is logically inconsistent with the Christian Ideal, and in the kingdom of God there will be a universal leisure.⁶ In other words, therein every one will be able to do all he will altogether as he will.

The way to this consummation is obscure. At

¹ Cf. Rom. xii. 1 (*λατρεία*).

² 2 Thess. iii. 10.

³ 1 Cor. ix. 14; cf. Gal. vi. 6; 1 Tim. v. 17 f.

⁴ Cf. Phil. iv. 15-19.

⁵ p. 165.

⁶ Chap. V. B.

most one step at once is clear; even about it Christian men may differ; the consummation itself may be still distant or it may suddenly come; there may be strife before its way be discovered and taken, for the path of Christian progress is often not by 'peace but a sword.' But meanwhile two practical duties fall to Christian men. The one is to do all that in them lies to aid the evolution of leisure, the other meanwhile to transfigure toil. This recalls an earlier distinction. In the last two chapters a threefold classification of 'work' was made.¹ It may be toilless; then it becomes identical with the leisure of the artist, of the man who chooses his work because it is itself worthy. In the Ideal all life will be art. But meanwhile some toil, some 'unwelcome work,' remains to be done. It may be forced upon unwilling men by one kind of coercion or another, or it may be undertaken of choice by those who count it their 'calling' to serve their fellows. In the latter instance it ceases in the strict sense to be 'toil' and becomes instead a kind of 'leisure.' So, to revert to terms used earlier, during the interval in which toil is still to some degree inevitable, it may be distinguished as 'toil endured' and 'toil transfigured.' The motive of the first is coercion, and of the second ministry. The Christian will strive, not only to secure the ultimate abolition of all toil, but also continually to extend in the meanwhile the scope of ministry and to diminish the scope of coercion. And here example will be better than precept. There are few men or none to whom drudgery does not in some degree fall,

¹ pp. 151 f., 167.

and he who has little of it may volunteer for more. The Christian who himself undertakes and transfigures a part of the 'unwelcome work' of mankind will preach the best sermon on the subject. And there is a source at which he can seek and find strength for so forbidding an enterprise. He may discover its whereabouts from Millet's picture of the 'Angelus.' Are not its two peasants at once unmistakably clod-hoppers and unmistakably children of God? Do not they fulfil their toil as worship? Are they not hard on the footsteps of the Carpenter of Nazareth? Just as it is possible for slave-master and slave both to be meek, to minister to Christ in each other, so it is possible both for wage-giver and wage-earner. They, too, may seek the glory of God in the service of man. Each of them may forget himself in a larger aim. If the product of their enterprise be not really useful to mankind—if, that is, it cannot be dedicated to God—they will abandon it at any cost, for Christianity is austere intolerant of all that denies it. But if the product of their united industry be a true benefit to man, Meekness will elevate it into worship. It may become for both a *λατρεία*.

This means that the wage-earner will cease to be a 'hireling'—that is, a man who works only for what he can get, gibbeted of Jesus in two unforgettable verses,¹—and will become a minister of God. His task will be transfigured into a little bit of God's enterprise. Its temper will translate its unworthiness, like the Cross's own, into worth. So 'drudgery' becomes divine.

¹ John x. 12 f.

Was it not to set an example herein that the Son of God lived for thirty years the life of an ordinary village workman? It was for this, too, that Paul 'worked with his own hands.'¹ By so doing he could best bring in the Kingdom. On the other hand, Meekness forbids that a wage-giver be bound to his workmen by the mere 'cash-nexus.' He will love them 'as himself'; he will admit their welfare equally with his own in the purpose that he shares with God; he will study how he may aid them, too, to self-realization. This is the inevitable consequence of the worship of a common God. The bondman forgiven 'the thousand talents' knows that he ought to pardon his fellow 'a hundred pence.' 'He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen.'² In toil as in bondage Christians will *choose* to be 'slaves one to another.'³ In this way the relation of wage-giver and wage-earner will be transfigured, and become a kind of brotherhood. Either an employer or an employé who refuses to be meek ceases to be a Christian man. Further, the refusal of Meekness by one party does not free the other from its obligation. Peter argues this very question for slavery. 'Did the buffets of the Praetorium dispense Jesus of Meekness? Opposition is just the challenge to its patient prevalence.

Some one will perhaps say, 'But does this mean that a Christian employer or employé is never to stand up for his own rights or the rights

¹ Acts xviii. 3, xx. 34; 1 Thess. ii. 9; 1 Cor. iv. 12, &c. Cf. John Oxenham's verses about 'Cobbler John.'

² 1 John iv. 20.

³ 1 Pet. ii. 20.

⁴ Gal. v. 13.

of his class?' In answer, the discussion of 'Christianity and Exchange'¹ may be recalled, for the relation between employer and employed is clearly one instance of bargain. There it was shown that, while in exchange a Christian will never seek to get more than he gives, and while he will always want to give more than he gets, yet the circumstances of an imperfect world are such that at times he will not be able to do more than give as much as he gets, and that he may even be driven to see to it that the other party to the bargain do this too. All this can be applied to the giving and receiving of wages, and need not be repeated. But it may be worth while to add that there is here no veiled attack on the 'wages system.' There is, indeed, the claim that the 'hire system' is imperfect, the word 'hire' being used to denote the indirect means by which men are coerced to 'unwelcome work,' and that therefore Christians should seek to supersede it. But there is also the suggestion that already any man may supersede it in his own case by transforming 'unwelcome work' into welcome ministry. So life might be all ministry, though it might not yet be all art. As to 'wages,' as distinct from 'hire'—that is, as payment for willingly chosen work—there is nothing in them that *per se* contradicts the Christian Ideal. Where they suffice to furnish full means for 'self-realization,' the payment of 'wages' in return for 'work' may even be represented as an approximation to the ideal condition, in which every man will contribute his 'product' to the general store of wealth, and in turn draw from

¹ Chap. VI. C.

it all that he needs to 'fulfil' his life. This is still true, even though in instances where this goal is most nearly reached, the term 'wages' is often abandoned for such synonyms as 'allowance' or 'stipend.' A Christian may and should make any task that really serves men into a ministry of God.

On this subject as on many others the New Testament has no direct word to say about the detailed method of meeting the problems of later times. For instance, it gives no direct answer to the question, Are strikes and lock-outs right? Certainly a particular text can be quoted that seems to condemn strikes.¹ But it could be used equally well to justify slavery! Indeed, it once was so used. Single texts could similarly be quoted in condemnation of political rebellion,² but single texts rarely exhaust the teaching of the Bible on any subject. It is sometimes said that the strike and the lock-out are a kind of war, and this cannot be denied; but then, it is held by many that even the severer kind of war is sometimes justifiable on Christian principles.³ Here, again, only one rule can be laid down. A Christian will only participate in a strike or lock-out if it seem to him to be the best way to further the kingdom of God. He will not justify or pursue either for any lower aim. With this there goes a usual corollary. The use of such weapons to serve the Kingdom will grow less and less necessary in proportion as progress is made towards the Ideal. The religion that purposes ultimately to destroy the more extreme kind of

¹ Eph. vi. 5.

² *B. D. S.*, pp. 330, 332.

³ *B. D. S.*, p. 334.

war must also purpose ultimately to destroy the less extreme.

While the abolition of 'toil' has always been the 'dream' of Christianity, in our own era the method of its abolition is perhaps for the first time becoming clear. Men have used four methods to avoid it. First, they have sometimes left unwelcome work undone. This is the way of the 'lotus eater' and the stagnant. Next, they have sometimes coerced some men to do the unwelcome work for the rest. Thirdly, they have 'domesticated' animals that they might work for men. Finally, they have sought to 'harness' the energy of inanimate nature. To-day we are just beginning to discover the resources of the last method.¹ The era of machinery, of steam, of electricity, and of petrol, has one justification. It secures the satisfaction of old human needs with less human toil, or it secures the more nearly adequate and universal satisfaction of human needs with the same human toil. If any 'invention' is used primarily for any other purpose, such as 'making a fortune,' it contradicts the Christian social ethic. If a doctor discover a new remedy he is expected to use it primarily to serve mankind, and only secondarily for his own benefit. If he must choose between the two ends, he is expected to forgo the second. The same rule applies to those who discover and 'float' 'inventions.'

¹ Of course there are old examples, as in the windmill and the sail. It is difficult not to believe that one of God's purposes in 'locking up' vast stores of energy in inanimate things is the service of man. Nor is it remarkable that the key to the lock has not been found sooner, for even to-day man's danger is lest he do not rightly use the treasure that he is learning to release.

Christianity has not two standards of behaviour, one for doctors and another for 'commercial men.'¹ It teaches every man 'to seek first the kingdom of God.' It makes every man in everything a minister of Christ.

F. The Primary Use of Leisure

The discussion of leisure involves that of 'Sunday.' Probably few would now maintain that historically this Christian institution sprang directly from the Hebrew Sabbath, but none the less the same principles justify both. The Hebrew Sabbath, as is seen above,² served two uses—the securing of some 'leisure time' for all, and the appointment of a stated time for common worship. In Israelite practice leisure and worship went together, as they have often done in later times.³ The two, however, are logically distinct, and with the advance of 'civilization' they tend to fall asunder. In part they did so even in Israel, for worship was not confined to the Sabbath; yet in the main the union lasted, and gradually the relation of the two ideas became fixed. From the first 'leisure time' had been claimed expressly for Jehovah's worshippers, and at length the Sabbath's rest was explicitly made the servant of its worship.⁴ One of the errors of the Judaism of Jesus' day

¹ A recent example may be quoted from America. A certain company had a monopoly in a method of making lucifer matches that eliminated the risk of the occurrence of 'phossy jaw' among the operatives; it gave up the monopoly.

² pp. 141 f., and 'Sabbath' in *B. D. S. Index*.

³ In mediaeval England, for instance, the serfs loved the many 'holy days,' for on them they escaped from toil for the 'lord of the manor.' See Jessopp, *Before the Great Pillage*, pp. 27 ff.

⁴ pp. 141 f.

was to make the rest of the seventh day an end in itself.

The first traces of observance of the Christian 'Sunday' may perhaps be found in the New Testament.¹ There is, however, neither there nor in any other early Christian book any theoretic attempt to carry over the Hebrew Sabbath from the seventh to the first day in the week. Rather the evolution of the Christian 'Sunday' sprang from the practical need for a fixed time for common worship. No doubt the first day of the week was chosen for this purpose because it was the day of the Resurrection. It is not impossible that its observance goes back without a break to the Upper Room. 'Sunday' commemorated the Master's triumph, the triumph by which the Church lived. Common worship was the purpose of the day's observance. At the same time worship could not be practised unless the worshippers were in some degree free from their usual toil. So, among Christians as among Jews, one day naturally united worship and leisure. There is a similar union in some other religions.

Christianity cannot distinguish one day as having a more intrinsic holiness than another,² any more than it can make a particular place or a particular man intrinsically holier than others. In its theory every day is a 'Lord's Day,' as every place a 'place of worship,' and every Christian a 'minister of religion.' This is only to say once more that it holds that all life is to be both worship and ministry.³ Yet all life

¹ e.g. Luke xxiv. 1; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Rev. i. 10.

² Cf. Gal. iv. 10; Rom. xiv. 5 f.; Col. ii. 16.

³ pp. 230 ff.

becomes worship only if the direct and immediate worship of God be so real and effective that its spirit, pervading the rest of life, transmutes it into indirect and mediate worship. Human friendships may be so close as to colour all life, yet men need to 'keep their friendships in repair' by seeking occasions for direct fellowship. A psychologist would say that a given fellowship can only 'subconsciously' persist throughout life if it is sometimes the object of fully 'conscious' attention. This psychological law holds of fellowship with God. It must have seasons of renewal by direct worship or it will slowly perish. And, as this fellowship is fundamental in life,¹ earnest Christians have always sought regular seasons of renewal in proven ways. So they have separated particular days, places, and men, and appointed them to serve worship. Their separation is 'ministerial' to the Kingdom, and so justifiable. Again, common worship has its own peculiar quality and bliss, a quality and bliss distinct from that of individual worship, and these, too, 'Sunday' secures to Christendom. Its joy will be enhanced into perfection in the perfect future when every worshipper perfectly fulfils the mutual ministry of united worship. Sunday anticipates eternity. A chief delight in heaven will be the immediate fellowship of a *united* mankind with God—'They shall see His face.' Then God's people will be rapt in Him.

From the Christian's point of view, then, the primary purpose of 'Sunday' is to secure opportunity for worship, and particularly for common worship. In other words, worship is

¹ John xvii. 3.

the chief end of the Christian 'Sabbath' and rest its means. On the other hand, the 'world' to-day, forgetful of the fact that historically the 'holiday' was first a 'holy day,' tends to make lesser 'goods,' and sport in particular, the chief end of 'Sunday.' How, indeed, should the 'world' value worship? It is therefore the more clearly the Christian's task to teach, as well by practice as by precept, that the first use of 'Sunday' is worship. He should do this not by denying the value of sport, or of any other of the lesser 'goods' of life, but by showing that willing worship is the highest habit of man. To make the mere provision of 'leisure time' the purpose of Sunday is to elevate the means into the end. This repeats in another way the very error of Jewish 'Sabbatarianism' against which Jesus urged so vigorous a polemic.¹ In both the means becomes the end.

The distinction just made between direct and indirect worship exhibits the danger in the claim that a Christian may do anything on Sunday so long as it is informed by the Christian motive. Men find it so hard to rise to the best that there is always risk lest the good supplant it. Worship is the primary duty of Sunday because it is by the impulse of *immediate* communion that 'work' is transfigured into worship. The Church, therefore, with a true instinct, has always taught that the prime duty and chief joy of 'Sunday' is *direct* fellowship with God. It cannot allow even the indirect worship that may pervade worthy tasks, or the pursuit of transfigured toil, to oust this. That would be to forsake the

¹ Mark ii. 23, iii. 6 ; John v. 9-18, &c.

primary for the secondary. Jesus asserted, indeed, that transfigured toil is 'lawful' on the Sabbath, but this was in protest against the sanctification of mere idleness. His protest did mean that some other occupations are lawful on Sunday,¹ but not that these should usurp the primacy of worship. He was never faced with the alternative, Shall I do other good things or worship God? There can be no doubt what the answer of His 'theology' would have been. As men learn to use their growing leisure time aright, they will find that they need to apply the sense of proportion to it—to give the chief place to the primary—and this means that they will find full room in it for worship, whatever they thereby forgo. For 'to know God' is 'life.'

¹ pp. 167 f. Among these other things to-day the principal will be the 'possessing of one's own soul' in quiet thought, and the cultivation of home. To-day's busy life gives hardly any opportunity for these outside Sunday,—and they come higher in the scale of 'goods' than sport.

VII

EPILOGUE

THE PROBLEMS OF WEALTH AND WORK TO-DAY

It is now one of the commonplaces of the historian that individualism began to obtain in Northern Europe in the sixteenth century, that it gradually permeated society, and that, while it was at first beneficial, its exaggeration at length turned to bane. In the realm of commerce it reached its zenith about the year 1800. An astute diagnosis of the facts of industry and commerce, made at about that time, showed that society often benefited by the selfishness of individuals. It was pointed out that, as purchasers naturally wanted to buy articles that were both good and cheap, it would 'pay' vendors to supply them good and cheap, for he who sold them of better quality and at a less price than others would sell more. In other words, his selfishness would benefit both himself and society. The issue was the praise of competitive self-seeking and its elevation into a social theory. The Christian Church was not as protestant against this vindication of selfishness as she ought to have been. There were even those who borrowed the defence of commercial competition to maintain the usefulness of her own divisions !

It was thought a good thing that many distinct Christian Churches should compete for the adherence of the 'outsider,' an error whose subtle curse has not even yet fully fallen. Yet how could a theory whose foundation was the axiom that men are 'naturally' selfish ever prove consonant even in commerce with the doctrine 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'? The consequence now appears in relentless history. Competitors have begun to ask, 'Why should we compete? Can we not enrich ourselves more by some other method?'—and the era of competition gives way to the era of what are strangely called 'trusts.' It will be noted that the new movement is not in utter discord with its predecessor. They share a common starting-point. Both begin with the postulate that the chief aim of the 'commercial man' is to enrich himself. Neither suspects that quite a different question is fundamental, How may I best serve society? There was need for Ruskin's protest. He filled the rôle proper to the Church. The acceptance of a theory based upon the selfishness of the individual has brought its own nemesis. The creed 'You may be selfish, for so you benefit society,' has elicited the retort, 'We will be more selfish still, though thereby we harm it.' One of the sinister signs of our day is the selfish 'combine' of the men of a particular trade to exploit their fellows. Such an episode as an attempt to 'corner' the world's corn is only one of its more flagrant symptoms. At present such 'combines' only include the 'masters' in a given trade, but what if soon they include the 'men' too? What if

employers and employés unite to 'raise prices' against the 'consumer'? Or what when a Trade Union pursues a selfish policy? What when it postpones the public good to its members' gain and exalts class-interest above patriotism? What when it restricts output to its own benefit but society's loss? Or what when an employers' federation raises the price of a monopoly beyond its true worth? The old theory of competition is dumb. Is there no answer? For the immediate *mitigation* of the evil different policies may command the support of different men, but there is only one ultimate *cure*—Meekness, the temper that subordinates the good of self to the wider good of mankind. The Christian man, even as he selects the mitigation that seems best to serve the immediate age, will yet seek this further end. Nor will he despair, for, as the great teacher named has shown, already there are companies of men who admit no other primary aim. Clergy, physicians, soldiers—these reduce Meekness, each in their own way and degree, to practice. They do not seek first their own good, but their own in subordination to society's. And what is possible to one 'calling' is possible to all. The Church must teach every man, and every set of men, that they have only the right to live themselves in proportion as they benefit all. Far from its being true that selfishness is inevitable, the basis of every true society is an incipient Meekness. In it each is set to seek equally his own and his fellow's 'good,' and to seek them as but parts of a greater 'good,' the welfare of mankind. Nor is competition in itself bad. How should it be when it is natural? But its end

must be to secure the 'greatest good,' not for oneself, but for the 'greatest number,' or, rather, for the unit called society. Competition, not in grab, but in service, is justifiable indeed. Its present realms are the home, the Church, the State; it will add—it is adding—commerce.

The most prominent current problems here, however, are rather 'industrial' than 'commercial,' though it is impossible quite to disentangle the two. Disputes between 'masters' and 'men' are rife and bitter. What has the Church to say to these? She must teach persistently that there can be no cure for this disease until 'masters' seek their workmen's weal as sedulously as their own, and the 'men' are as careful of their employers' advantage as of wages. It is useless to call such teaching Utopian, for there are those who practise it. Yet it is, of course, very far from being the universal rule. What method shall Christians advocate in the interim of imperfection? The tracing of the development of Biblical ideas has shown that what may be the best possible approximation to the true practice at one period may be superseded in the next, and so that the Christian rule of one generation cannot be literally applied in another. Every Christian generation is called to make its own application of Accommodation. Further, what is best in one part of the world may not be best in another. More important still, there is no one criterion by which Christians decide in any particular situation what is the best means to the distant end. About this question, therefore, they may properly differ.¹

¹ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 308-320.

But, if they really seek the same great end, their differences will be limited in extent, and there need be no bitterness about them. It is no part of the present treatise to discuss fully, or even to state fully, the manifold problems of to-day about wealth and work, but something may perhaps be briefly said about the Christian way of approach. And it may be said in relation to three great doctrines about wealth and work—Capitalism, Socialism, Syndicalism.

The advocates and enemies of Capitalism have been equally extravagant. The former have claimed that it has always obtained, that it is inevitable, and even that it alone is Christian! Its enemies have discovered it to be almost anti-Christ! The truth probably is that in recent centuries it has done a real service to mankind, and it is open to debate whether that service is yet complete. The subject of debate, however, needs definition. The question is not whether 'capital' is essential to industry, for 'capital' is funded wealth, and the enterprises of to-day are so vast, and the interval before they 'yield a return' is often so long, that it would be impossible to undertake them without a 'fund' of wealth to 'draw upon.' So much is obvious. The real question is whether there shall be a separate class of men called 'capitalists' to supply and control that 'funded wealth,' and, controlling it, to control also those who labour by means of it. There is nothing in history to show that the answer to this question must always be the same. In these days the workers are demanding in various ways that they shall at least share in the control of the enterprises

at which they toil. It is not easy to deny the justice of the claim in such lands as England. In 'backward' lands it may still be true that the 'benevolent autocracy' of capital is best, not only for the 'commercial success' of enterprise, but also for the labourers who ignorantly toil at some one of its complicated tasks, and for the 'public' to whose need it ministers. But if in other lands the workers be admitted to share in the government of empire, can they be denied a share in the control of the enterprise in which they spend their daily life? Is not their demand to be free in this realm, as well as in others, really a demand for 'full personality'? And, if so, can it be permanently refused? The writer, of course, does not suppose that these few questions solve one of the most intricate problems of the age, but he does suggest that the questions are the right ones to ask.

Until the Russian revolution the advocates of Socialism had the advantage that the experiment which they recommend had not in recent centuries been fully tried. Even now only one extreme kind of Socialism has been tried, and it is too soon to judge of its ultimate results. The French Revolution had some damnable excesses, yet most historians count its final issues beneficial. It is impossible on Christian grounds just to rule Socialism of every kind out of court. There might be a period in which the best possible mitigation of selfishness would be that the State should be the universal employer, and every citizen willy-nilly its employé.¹ During the war

¹ The term 'Socialism' is here used in this its strict sense. It is perhaps the most ambiguous word in current speech, and its ambiguity

an approximation to this was made by common consent. Any Christian may hold that such a system is the best for to-day. But equally any other Christian has the right to hold that it is not. What is certain is that Socialism is not the final Christian account of society. This for two reasons. First, Socialism is not necessarily religious, for it is complete without God. Second, it seems to many necessarily to involve a measure of coercion. In it the individual is obliged to be the servant of the State. It is, indeed, almost the apotheosis of the State, and, while the State is a social institution that is useful and even necessary in the imperfect stages of society, it disappears—as founded on force—in the Ideal.¹ This difficulty about liberty afflicts Socialism in many ways. How is the State to enforce a universal service? What will it do if a given set of workmen form a Trade Union and ‘strike’ against society? ‘Public service’ is not inherently immune from ‘strikes.’ But this is not the most serious side of the question. Few men or none do their best work when another selects and directs it. It is to the task of his own choice and control that a man gives himself *con amore*. This is no task to him. It is admitted that an unwilling man can never become a true poet, artist, teacher, or preacher, but this holds also of all human work at its finest. The best work is always willing; its basis is freedom, for

breeds confusion. For instance, some mean by it the practice of the Golden Rule; with such meaning a ‘Christian’ is indeed ‘of course’ a ‘Socialist.’ By others the term is applied not only to commerce and politics, but all human life. It may then include, for instance, the substitution of promiscuity for marriage!

¹ See *B. D. S.*, chap. vi. C.

the liberty of the individual is an element in the perfected kingdom of God ; true life must have zest. The individualist era, with all its shortcomings, won one great victory for the coming Ideal—it vindicated the right of the individual to seek to be himself. It did make many free. It is true that, through the selfish use of this right by the able, many more were denied its enjoyment—true, too, that none yet knows how to ‘universalize’ it—but its mere recognition was valuable. Again, more and more of the workers have won the liberty at least to choose their own occupation and their own master in it. More and more, indeed, they tend themselves to control it. To abandon these gains would be to recede from the Ideal. To-day’s duty is not to lessen liberty, but to enlarge it and to teach its right use. The individual must learn that the fit end of this divine gift is not to please oneself, but to please God through the service of mankind. All this applies, not only to individual liberty, but also to the liberty of smaller societies within greater ones—of unions and federations, for instance, within a nation, or of nations within mankind. The Socialist must so frame his Socialism as to leave freedom proper scope. It is too soon to say that he cannot do this, but until it be done his theory will inevitably rouse the opposition, sometimes rather ‘instinctive’ than reasoned, of many ‘lovers of mankind.’ ‘With a great price’ their fathers bought ‘this freedom,’ and they will not lightly barter their birthright. True progress, while it corrects the errors of the past, conserves its gains.

At present, however, it seems more likely, at least in England, that a modified Syndicalism will be tried rather than Socialism. The Trade Union and the Co-Operative Movement have prepared its way, for all three aim at the control of industry by those engaged in it. About this theory, as about Socialism, it is not possible to say off-hand either that it is naturally Christian or naturally un-Christian. If a Christian man think it is the best possible means of advance towards the perfect kingdom of God on earth, no fellow Christian can deny him the right to that opinion. But Syndicalism, too, has its own peril—a peril that may be called the selfishness of societies. As the last phrase implies, this is a sin possible to any society, whether Trade Union, Masters' Federation, State, Church, or club. In it, while the members of a given society pursue altruism towards each other, the society as a whole follows a selfish policy towards those outside it. History teems with instances of this kind of selfishness. It has been common alike in religious, political, and industrial life. The mediaeval trade guilds, in their later stages, give a great instance in the world of 'business.' While they cared sedulously for the 'insider,' they came at last to be quite selfish against the 'outsider.' And they met the inevitable fate of selfishness—they perished of self-seeking. To-day this selfishness of societies is the temptation, for example, of a company of shareholders, a Trade Union, and the Syndicalist. A noteworthy illustration is 'restriction of output.' It is possible that in rare instances this may be justified in the interests of 'the public,' since it

may secure uniformity of supply ; but in the great majority of cases it is pursued in reality, and even confessedly, for the benefit of a smaller society within the larger one called ' the public.' The cure for the sin is again Meekness, rightly defined. For this teaches that, as every individual's duty is to seek to ' bring in ' the universal kingdom of Christ on earth, so is every society's. That Kingdom, of course, will include industry, as it will include everything else that serves the needs of man. When the ends of a society and of the Kingdom conflict, it is the society that should deny itself. The war brought many fine instances of the self-denial of societies, and among them of industrial societies. Are there to be none in peace ?

It appears, then, that Capitalism, Socialism, and Syndicalism, each in its own way, comes short of the Christian Ideal, and therefore that a Christian can adopt any one of them only as the best immediate step towards the reaching of that Ideal. A last question may now be asked. May not each theory play a part in the process of progress ? In fact, all three are already practised in some degree, and few, if pressed, really desire the complete abolition of any one of them. An enlightened Capitalism is probably still the best way to spread Western ways of manufacture among Asiatics and Africans. More, it probably still has a great part to play even in ' the white world.' Again, every one is a Socialist when he talks of the army or the postal service. There is universal agreement that in such instances the State ought to be the sole employer and every employé its servant. Again,

the medical and legal professions, for instance, are organized on a Syndicalist basis. Those engaged in one of these callings themselves control it. Or again, in the control of a railway, for instance, capitalists, the State, and the workers themselves may all have a share. The practical question to-day is not whether these three methods of conducting enterprise shall obtain, but how far each shall obtain. Christians will differ about the answer, but they will agree that it ought to be given according to this norm—‘ How should those act who would fain serve man because they love God ? ’

ADDITIONAL NOTES

NOTE I

'SHIFTING SEVERALTY' IN ISRAEL

(pp. 42, 45, 48)

The name 'shifting severalty' is applied to an ancient method of dividing land. Under it the arable land belonging to a village was divided into fixed parts and periodically redistributed by lot among the different families. Some think that this custom obtained in Israel¹ and that it can be traced in the institution of the Sabbatical Year.² It still survives in some parts of Palestine.³ That the system was not universal in ancient Israel follows from such passages as Joshua xxiv. 30; Ruth iv. 3; 1 Kings xxi. 3,⁴ and it seems unlikely that, if it were widespread, it would have left so few and doubtful traces. None of the passages quoted for it by G. A. Smith (*ut supra*) is of certain interpretation.⁵ If it were common, the phraseology of some passages in the text⁶ would need modification, but it would still be true that every family had a right to the use of land as the basis of its welfare, and that this right was inalienable.

NOTE 2

UTENSILS OF THE PRE-MONARCHIC PERIOD

(pp. 44 ff.)

The word 'utensil' is here given a fairly wide meaning. Of course there would be many that the records do not happen to mention, but those named probably fairly represent the whole. It is not easy to classify utensils with precision, but the classification adopted seems natural.

¹ e.g. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. pp. 279 ff.

² e.g. Fenton, *Early Hebrew Life*, Sections 17, 31; Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, 'Sabbatical Year.'

³ S. A. Cook, *Moses and Hammurabi*, p. 181.

⁴ Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites*, p. 135, quoted in *B. D. S.*, p. 33, footnote 9.

⁵ Mic. ii. 5; Jer. xxxvii. 12; Ps. xvi. 5 f., cxxv. 3. The other references (Joshua xv.-xix. and xxi.; 1 Chron. vi. 55) refer to the allotment of a conquered land.

⁶ e.g. pp. 42, 45.

(1) Utensils of personal use: 'staff',¹; 'razor'.² To these the earlier narratives of Genesis add 'signet and cords'.³

(2) Articles of household use: 'mill',⁴ 'mortar',⁵ 'kneading-trough',⁶ earthen 'pitcher',⁷ skin 'bottle',⁸ vessels of various sorts,⁹ 'sack',¹⁰ 'thread',¹¹ 'cord',¹² 'withe' or 'bowstring',¹³ 'rope',¹⁴ 'awl',¹⁵ 'hammer',¹⁶ 'knife',¹⁷ 'tent-pin',¹⁸ 'bed',¹⁹ 'table' (of a king),²⁰ 'rug',²¹ 'carpet' (of the rich),²² 'window' and 'lattice',²³ 'lamp',²⁴ a somewhat elaborate loom.²⁵

(3) Articles of agricultural use: some under (2), e.g. the tools; 'yoke',²⁶ 'goad',²⁷ 'axe',²⁸ 'flail',²⁹ 'plough',³⁰ 'cart' (probably rare),³¹ 'torch',³² 'winepress',³³ 'threshing-floor'.³⁴

(4) Articles used in war and the chase: Some under (3), e.g. 'goad' and 'axe'; 'sword',³⁵ 'javelin',³⁶ 'bow',³⁷ 'trumpet',³⁸ 'chariots' (foreign),³⁹ a town's gates and bars.⁴⁰

(5) Articles used in worship: 'lamp',⁴¹ 'trumpet',⁴² perhaps brass and iron vessels⁴³ named above, 'timbrel',⁴⁴ 'psaltery', 'pipe and harp',⁴⁵ the Tabernacle,⁴⁶ 'ark',⁴⁷ 'tables of stone',⁴⁸ 'altar',⁴⁹ 'ephod',⁵⁰ 'teraphim',⁵¹ 'asherim',⁵² 'graven image',⁵³

¹ Num. xxii. 27.

² Gen. xxxviii. 25.

³ Num. xi. 8.

⁴ Judges vii. 16.

⁵ Ruth ii. 9; Num. xi. 8; Joshua vi. 19, 24; Judges v. 25, vi. 68;

1 Sam. x. 1.

¹⁰ Joshua ix. 4.

¹¹ Joshua ii. 15.

¹² Judges xv. 13.

¹³ Judges iv. 21.

¹⁴ Judges iv. 21.

¹⁵ Judges i. 7.

¹⁶ Judges v. 10.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. iii. 3.

¹⁸ 1 Sam. vi. 7.

¹⁹ Judges ix. 48.

²⁰ Judges xiv. 18.

²¹ Judges vii. 16.

²² Judges vi. 37.

²³ Joshua viii. 18.

²⁴ Joshua xxiv. 12; with 'quiver,' Gen. xxvii. 3.

²⁵ Judges iii. 27.

²⁶ Judges xvi. 3.

²⁷ Exod. xix. 13.

²⁸ Exod. xv. 20 f.

²⁹ Exod. xxxiii. 7.

³⁰ Exod. xxiv. 12.

³¹ Judges viii. 27.

³² Exod. xxxiv. 13.

² Judges xiii. 5, xvi. 17.

³ Num. xi. 8.

⁴ Exod. xii. 34.

⁵ Joshua ix. 4.

¹¹ Joshua ii. 18.

¹² Judges xvi. 7.

¹³ Exod. xxi. 6.

¹⁴ Judges xix. 29.

¹⁵ Exod. xxi. 18.

¹⁶ Judges iv. 18.

¹⁷ Joshua ii. 15; Judges v. 28.

¹⁸ Judges xvi. 13 ff.

¹⁹ Judges iii. 31.

²⁰ Judges vi. 11.

²¹ 1 Sam. vi. 7.

²² Judges vi. 11.

²³ Num. xxii. 29.

³⁹ Exod. xiv. 7.

⁴⁰ 1 Sam. iii. 3.

⁴¹ Joshua vi. 19.

⁴² 1 Sam. x. 5.

⁴³ Joshua iii. 11.

⁴⁴ Exod. xxiv. 4.

⁴⁵ Judges xvii. 5.

⁴⁶ Exod. xx. 4.

'molten image,'¹ 'obelisks,'² 'pillars,'³ 'knives of flint,'⁴ 'books.'⁵ Some of these articles were peculiar to Israel, some to their neighbours, some common to both.

(6) Articles belonging to specialized secular callings: 'ship,'⁶ 'fetters of brass,'⁷ 'chisel,'⁸ 'kiln.'⁹

(7) Articles connected with fine arts: most of the items under (5), with the 'carpets' under (2); 'sapphire work,'¹⁰ 'crescents and pendants,'¹¹ Many of these are named in connexion with foreigners. For this cf. 'garment of Shinar,'¹² and 'purple raiment'¹³; the Patriarchal narrative has also 'camel's furniture,'¹⁴ which would be foreign after the settlement in Canaan.

NOTE 3

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF CALLINGS UNDER THE KINGS

(pp. 82, 261)

A list is given below of the 'specialized' callings noticed by the writer in the documents for the pre-Monarchic period and the Monarchy respectively. The former are named under the letter (a), the latter under the letter (b). The list of 'references,' with other notes, will be found in *The Bible Doctrine of Society*, Additional Note 6.

Religious Callings:

(a) Proper to the worship of Jehovah: Levite or priest, prophet or seer, judge (?), founder (?), cook (?). Of foreign origin: diviner, witch, sacred harlot.

(b) Priests of different grades, prophet ('sons of prophets'), Nazirite, singer, minstrel, 'wise man.' Of foreign origin: soothsayer, diviner, enchanter, charmer, necromancer, wizard, witch, sacred Sodomite, and harlot.

War:

(a) Freebooter, captain (?), baggage-keeper (?), footman (?), archer (?), watchman (?), armour-bearer (?). All these terms except the first probably refer to ordinary Israelites set to specific temporary tasks.

¹ Exod. xx. 23, xxxii. 4; Num. xxi. 9.

² Exod. xxxiii. 24.

³ Joshua v. 2.

⁴ Judges v. 17.

⁵ Deut. xxvii. 5.

¹⁰ Exod. xxiv. 10.

¹² Joshua vii. 21.

¹⁴ Gen. xxxi. 34.

⁶ Exod. xxiv. 4.

⁷ Exod. xxiv. 7.

⁸ Judges xvi. 21.

⁹ Exod. xix. 18.

¹¹ Judges viii. 21.

¹³ Judges viii. 26.

(b) The 'guard' generally, captain of 'host,' captain of 'guard,' captain of 'thousand,' captain of 'hundred,' captain of 'fifty,' captain of 'ward,' of 'bands,' of 'chariots,' &c., muster-master, footman, horseman, charioteer, archer, slinger, pioneer, watchman (?), porter (?), armour-bearer, 'mighty man' (*gibbor*).

The Court (civil):

(a) None, of course.

(b) Counsellor, judge, governor of capital, deputy, levy-master, chronicler, scribe, keeper of caravanserai (?), post, controller of royal household, victual-officer, keeper of wardrobe, tutor, nurse, eunuch.

Handicraft and Art:

(a) None clearly.

(b) Smith, carpenter, mason, quarryman, builder, woodcutter, overlooker, carver and engraver, founder, refiner, brass-worker, potter, weaver, fuller, baker, cook, perfumer, singer and musician wailer, scholar (?), surgeon (?), coolie (?), brickmaker.

Agriculture and the Chase:

(a) None.

(b) Shepherd, herdman, shearer, ploughman, pruner, grape gatherer, harvester, fanner, fowler, fisher, hunter.

Trade and Banking:

(a) None.

(b) Merchant (usually foreigner), moneylender (?), merchant sailor (foreigner).

It is perhaps necessary to add that of course many 'callings' would exist that do not happen to be named—e.g. there were 'Nazirites' in Israel before the Kings—and also that, of course, many kinds of work would be done long before a particular class of man made them their 'specialized' undertaking. But the conclusion seems clear that under the Kings the 'specialization' of callings first became normal in Israel.

NOTE 4

THE TASK-GANG (עֲמָלָה) IN ISRAEL

(pp. 117, 125)

It is shown in the text¹ that the 'levy' in the extreme form of the *corvée* system had but one great instance in Israel, at least as applied on a large scale to the whole people. Solomon was able to enforce it, but on his death it disappeared. Yet at the time of the compiler of Kings there was a 'levy' of some sort,² and, indeed, it is hard to see how an Eastern kingdom

¹ pp. 123 ff.

² 1 Kings ix. 21 ('unto this day').

could compass the making of roads or the building of fortifications without one.¹ It is therefore probable that the compiler's statement in the passage just named, that Solomon's 'levy' did not include Israelites but was confined to Canaanites, while untrue of Solomon, held for his successors and perhaps for David. Two statements in the Books of the Chronicles agree with this.² Again, in the pre-Davidic period, though for the most part the Canaanites merged in Israel, there seem to have been instances of their reduction to some form of 'task-work.'³ In old time this was the common lot of conquered but unexterminated foes.⁴ For instance, the Philistines probably destined Israel to 'task-work,'⁵ and David perhaps inflicted it on Ammon,⁶ while it had been the Hebrew's lot in Egypt. Again, Deuteronomy commands that an enemy other than Canaanite, on unresisting submission, shall not be slaughtered, but set to 'task-work.' As the laws of this code all have reference to the state of Israel, not in the wilderness, but in Palestine under the Monarchy, this passage supports the view that there was a 'levy' of foreigners in Israel as least as late as Hezekiah's time. It seems likely, therefore, that while the Canaanites for the most part united indistinguishably with Israel, there yet survived from the days of the Judges a community of Canaanite origin whose lot was public slavery. The passages quoted from Joshua and Judges suggest that they came originally from two districts, the neighbourhood of Gezer and the further north. Here Canaanite resistance lasted longest, and here the old 'inhabitants of the land' may have maintained their organization in a separate community when it fell to pieces elsewhere,⁷ and have passed into the polity of Israel, not family by family or one by one, but in larger groups. If so, they seem to have retained their unity at the expense of freedom and become a servile clan. When the Monarchy came its control apparently passed to the Kings. Under them the numbers of this 'levy' would probably be recruited from time to time by captives and 'convicts.' By the date of Deuteronomy it may have ceased to be Canaanite, even if it were still possible to distinguish 'Canaanites' from 'Hebrews.' Their 'task-work' would contrast with that of Solomon's national 'levy' as being not occasional but lifelong, while in distinction from the ordinary family slaves they would form a separate community, dwelling

¹ pp. 124 ff.

² 1 Chron. xxii. 2 ; 2 Chron. ii. 17 f.

³ Joshua xvi. 10, xvii. 13 ; Judges i. 28, 30, 33, 35.

⁴ Cf. Isa. xxxi. 8 ; Lam. i. 1.

⁵ 1 Sam. xiii. 19 ff., xiv. 21, xvii. 9. ⁶ 2 Sam. xii. 31, marg.

⁷ Deut. xx. 11, 16.

⁸ *B. D. S.*, pp. 91 ff., where it is shown that probably most of the gerim were Canaanites.

probably, like the South Indian pariahs, in a separate 'quarter.'¹ In general they would bear to the Hebrew state a relation similar to that which the Gibeonites bore to its worship.² Probably they were a comparatively small and perhaps a diminishing body. At any rate they have left no trace on Hebrew social theory. Neither Prophet nor Deuteronomist ever championed their low cause. There is a reference in Proverbs³ to the putting of the 'slothful' to 'task-work,' but probably this only means that he had to be driven to his toil.⁴ It illustrates, however, the inevitable temper of slave communities. The distinction between the usual status of the Israelite bondman and of the negro slave disappears here. The rare reference to this community need not surprise; how often does the classical literature of India name the outcastes? It is not clear what their 'task' was before the Monarchy; perhaps the building and repair of the 'cities' 'walls and towers.'⁵

NOTE 5

THE PERSISTENCE OF OLD IDEAS AFTER THE EXILE
(p. 137)

In chapter iv. it is noted that in the thought of post-Monarchic Judaism there were remarkably few changes on the subjects of wealth and work, but that in the main the old ideas persisted. The few changes are described in that chapter; the chief persistent ideas may be traced in the passages classified below. In some instances the passages are arranged in three groups: (a) those from Prophetic books; (b) those from books of the 'Priestly' type; (c) those from the 'poetical' and 'problem' books, including Daniel and Esther.⁶

A. Wealth and Prosperity

It was still held that wealth was a good thing, and that to be prosperous was the proper sequel of Righteousness. Koheleth seems to contradict the first of these statements, but his protest really meant that mere possessions without the opportunity of fitly using them are 'vanity.'⁷ If this be denied, he becomes the

¹ Cf. pp. 73 f., and see *Property: Its Rights and Duties*, p. 18 (Hobhouse).

² Joshua ix. 21 ff.

³ xii. 24.

⁴ This text is probably the best parallel to another figurative passage, Gen. xlix. 15, which means, not that one particular tribe in Israel submitted to literal 'task-work,' but that, as Zebulun sucked its wealth from the coast and Dan thrived by the foray, so Issachar battered by the toilsome sweat of the field (cf. vv. 13-17).

⁵ 1 Sam. xxxi. 10; Judges ix. 40-44, 46, 51.

⁶ Cf. *B. D. S.*, pp. 184 f.

⁷ *B. D. S.*, pp. 189 ff.; cf. Eccles. ii. 1-11, v. 10, 20;

exception that proves the rule. Similarly, the Book of Job seems at first to contradict the second statement above, but its real claim is that in fact there are exceptional cases where Righteousness does not bring prosperity, and its conclusion implies that the sequence *ought* to hold. Again, one or two hints of ascetic tendencies may be gathered,¹ but they are insignificant. As in Palestine Israel was still mainly agricultural, the books of which Palestine is the background usually conceive wealth in the old agricultural way, and find its basis in the possession of land. Other books beside Job imply that the separation of wealth and Righteousness was unnatural, however common. This is a usual implication in such passages as are given below. Other passages, again, imply that mere wealth was not desirable,² Prov. xxx. 8 f. and Job xxxi. 24 ff. recognize the risks of prosperity. The main drift of thought appears from such passages as the following:

(a) Isa xlix. 14-21, xxxiv. 11-17, lviii. 8 ff., lx, lxv, 13-25; Hag. i. 4 ff., ii. 14-19; Zech. v. 5-11, viii. 12, 19, xiv. 17-20; Mal. iii. 10 ff., iv. 2; Joel i, ii. 18 ff.

(b) Neh. v. 3 ff.; Lev. i. 2, xix. 9 f., xxiii. 9 ff., xxv. 10, xxvi. 3 ff.; Num. xxvi. 52 ff., xxxvi; Joshua xix. 51; 2 Chron. xvii. 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

(c) Ps. i., xxxiv. 12-14, xxxvii., lxviii., civ., cix. 9-15, cxii., cxxxvi. 21 f., cxliv. 12-15; Prov. xxiv. 27, 30 ff., xxxi. 16; Job i., v. 19 ff., xxix. 8-25, xxxvi. 11 f., xlii.

B. Leisure

A chief part of the evidence that leisure was still an element in the ideal life for man on earth was the persistence of the institutions of slavery and hire (see *D* below). The combination of two phrases in one of the latest Prophets illuminates a continuous concept in the Old Testament: 'I am a tiller of the ground, for I have been made a bondman from my youth.'³ Another part of the evidence is the continuance of the Sabbath. It has been seen above⁴ that the idea now became prominent that the purpose of the Sabbath's rest was worship. Yet even so the rest was valued. Again a number of Sabbatic passages insist on rest in itself in quite the old way; e.g. Isa. lvi. 1-8; Neh. x. 31, xiii. 15 ff.; Gen. ii. 1-3; Num. xv. 32 ff. Similarly, only under this notion could 'the land keep her Sabbaths.'⁵ The latest fragment of Proverbs has the same condemnation of sloth as

¹ Num. vi. 1-21; Dan. i. 12, x. 2 f.; cf. pp. 208 ff.

² e.g. Ps. xxxvii. 16, xxxix. 6, xlix. 6, 16, cxix. 127.

³ Zech. xiii. 5; cf. Isa. lxi. 5 f., Joshua ix. 21.

⁴ pp. 141 f.

⁵ Lev. xxv. 1 ff. 8 ff., xxvi. 34 f.

was found to be common earlier,¹ and with the same implication that toil was a 'necessary evil.'² The description of 'The Virtuous Woman' with which this book closes³ comes nearer perhaps to the praise of 'work for its own sake' than any other Old Testament passage, but this female paragon is really busy with a piece of welcome work,⁴ the direction of a household, and the idea is not absent that her busy life is admirable because it ministers to her husband's leisure.⁵

C. Privilege and Poverty

The idea of privilege is undeserved advantage. In relation to the subjects of wealth and work, privilege occurs when there arises a class of people who tend to be rich while others are poor, and who tend to escape the toil that others undertake. Their marks are luxury and leisure. This class arose in Israel under the Monarchy. In the discussion of this phenomenon⁶ it was found that the Prophets did not denounce privilege as such, but demanded that it should always be ministry. It was also found that with virtual unanimity the rich and leisured used their privilege, not for the good of their fellows, but to 'oppress' them; the rich, therefore, were often identified with the 'wicked.' All this continued after the Kings. There was also still, of course, a class of the poor.⁷ The discussion of wealth (A) has already implied that poverty was still counted an evil. The claims of the poor and the duty of alms still had the old religious basis. All these things can be illustrated from one series of passages.

(a) Isa. xli. 17, xlvii. 7 f., xlix. 26, li. 13, 23, liii. 9, lvii. 17, lviii. 3 marg., 6 f., lxi. 1 f.; Hab. iii. 14; Mal. iii. 5.

(b) Neh. v. 8, 10, xiii. 14 ff.; Exod. xxix. 28, xxx. 12 ff., xxxv. 5, 21 ff.; Lev. ii. 3, 10, v. 7, 11, vii. 7 ff., xii. 8, xiv. 21, xix. *passim*, xxvii. 8; Num. xviii. 8 ff., 21 ff.

(c) Ps. x. 8 ff., lxxiii. 3, 12, xciv. 6, cxix. 69-72; Prov. xxx. 14, xxxi. 9, 20; Job v. 15 f., xx. 19-22, xxii. 6 ff., xxiv. 2 ff., xxvii. 13 ff., xxix. 12 ff., xxxi. 16 ff., xxxv. 9; Eccles. iii. 16 f., iv. 1, v. 8; Dan. iv. 27; Esther ix. 22.

D. Slavery and Hire

(a) ¹*Slavery* (cf. pp. 138, 142).—Slavery was still a normal institution; the slave was still reckoned a part of the family; and the relations of masters and slaves were still often kindly: e.g. Isa. xxiv. 2; Prov. xxx. 10, xxxi. 14; Job i 15-17, xxxi. 13, 15;

¹ p. 108.

² Prov. xxxi. 10 ff.

³ Prov. xxxi. 23, 28 f.

⁴ Cf. pp. 140 f.

⁵ Prov. xxiv. 30 ff.

⁶ Cf. pp. 144 f.

⁷ Chap. III. C.

Gen. xxix. 24, 29; Exod. xii. 44; Lev. xxii. 11, xxv. 6, 49; Zech. xiii. 5; Mal. i. 6; Ps. cxxiii. 2; Ezra ii. 65; Neh. iv. 22; Eccles. ii. 7, vii. 21; Esther ii. 9. Slavery was none the less still held an evil state, and the reduction of the free to slaves, either through oppression, guile, or war, a lamentable thing: e.g. Joel iii. 3, 6, 8; Job iii. 19, vi. 27, xxiv. 9 ff.; xxxi. 10; Gen. xxxiv. 29; Lev. xxv. 39, 44 ff.; Num. xxxi. 9, 18, 28-47; Neh. ix. 36; Eccles. ii. 7; Esther vii. 4. A slave might still be sold,¹ or released,² or might be his master's heir.³ The term עֶבֶד could still be used of the Israelites' relation to God, even though this was now conceived also as one of 'salvation' and love; e.g. Job i. 7, xlii. 7; Exod. xxv. 42, 55; Mal. i. 6; Ps. cxxiii. 2; 2 Chron. xii. 8. The slave's human rights were still recognized, especially in connexion with religion: Exod. xii. 44 f., xx. 11; Job ii. 29, xxxi. 13, 15; Gen. xvii. 12 f., 26 f. In the ideal state no Israelite was to be a slave: Joel iii. 3, 6 (cf. 8); Lev. xxv. 39-55; Isa. lviii. 6, 9; Neh. v.; cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 10; Lev. xxv. 10.

(b) *Hire* (cf. pp. 134 f.).—This was common; the hireling was often a 'ger'; the state was preferable to slavery, but was still the plight of the poor; the relation between the hireling and his master was still usually one of grudging and exaction; the hireling had rights: e.g. Hag. i. 6; Zech. viii. 10, xi. 12; Mal. iii. 5; Job vii. 1-8, xiv. 6; Exod. xii. 45, xix. 13; Lev. xix. 10, 33 f., xxii. 10, xxiv. 22, xxv. 6, 25 f., 40, 53; Num. ix. 14, xv. 14-16, xxxv. 15.

E. Money and Commerce

The documents assume that commerce and exchange were habitual and common. This requires the frequent use of money. It is certain that 'coin,' in the technical sense of the word, spread in the Persian Empire at this time, but for long the ancient use of standard *weights* of gold and silver in exchange would continue beside it, and there is no undoubted reference to coin in the Old Testament.⁴ There are a very few hints of what actual prices were.⁵ The merchants of this period were sometimes foreigners and sometimes Jews.⁶ The demand for equity in bargain continued, and with it the assumption that 'inequity' was common. The old idea that unrestricted and selfish competition is wrong appears, and the old legal attempts to curb it.

¹ Isa. 1. 1, lii. 3; Gen. xvii. 12, 27; Exod. xii. 44; Lev. xxii. 11.

² Isa. lviii. 6, 9; Lev. xxv. 39-55.

³ Prov. xxx. 23.

⁴ Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* iii., pp. 421 ff.

⁵ e.g. Lev. xxvii. 3 ff., 25; Zech. xi. 12.

⁶ e.g. Neh. iii. 31 f., x. 31, xiii. 16, 20.

In Job the moneylender who 'stands' upon his 'rights' is the type of a rascal. The old prohibition of usury between Hebrews is repeated, and it is still assumed that moneylending was none the less common. Bribery is denounced in the old way. Beneath all references to money and commerce there lies still the postulate that money, like all other property, belongs fundamentally to God, and that He wills its altruistic use.

(a) Isa. xxiv. 2; Jer. li. 13; Hag. ii. 8; Zech. xiv. 21 marg.

(b) Gen. xxiii., xxxiv. 10, 21-23; Lev. vi. 2, xix. 35 f., xxv. 14 ff., 29 f., 35 ff.; Ezra ii. 69; Neh. v. 4 ff., x. 31; 2 Chron. xxv. 9.

(c) Ps. xv. 5, xxvi. 10, xxxvii. 21, 26, cix. 11, cxix. 122; Prov. xxxi. 18, 24; Job vi. 18 ff., 27, xv. 34, xxii. 6, xxiv. 3, 9; Eccles. vii. 12, x. 19; Song of Sol. iii. 6.

NOTE 6

SPECIALISED CALLINGS AFTER THE KINGS

(p. 136)

The same 'differentiation of callings' that gradually developed in Israel during the Monarchy¹ continued after its close. Many changes in detail ensued, no doubt, from Israel's loss of independence, for the 'callings' natural in a sovereign State are not all natural in a tributary province. The clearest instance is in the realms of war and government (*b* & *c* below). But, while details changed, the phenomenon of 'specialization' remained. The following list is not exhaustive, but it may serve to illustrate the articulation and interdependence of Jewish society after the Exile, particularly in Jerusalem.²

(a) *Religious Callings*. Levite,³ Priest,⁴ High Priest,⁵ 'singers,'⁶ 'porters,' and 'Nethinim.' For detailed offices in the Temple see 1 Chron. xv. 15 ff.; xvi. 4 ff., xxiii. 4-26, 32. 'Diviners,' &c., are named in Exod. vii. 11; Isa. xlv. 25; Dan. ii. 2, &c.⁷ These now appear usually, and perhaps uniformly, as alien to Israelite cult. The line of 'prophets'⁸ was first broken and then died out.⁹

(b) *Military Callings*. Here the references to various officers and 'specialized' kinds of soldiers assign them either to Israel's past¹⁰ or to foreign armies.¹¹ To the writer of Job the war-horse

¹ Note 3.

³ Num. i. 47 ff.

⁵ Hag. i. 1.

⁷ Cf. Job iii. 8.

⁹ Mal. iv. 5; 1 Macc. xiv. 41.

¹¹ e.g. Jer. li. 27 f. 57.

² Cf. pp. 135 f.

⁴ Lev. i. 5, 8, 11.

⁶ Ezra vii. 7.

⁸ Hag. i. 1; Zech. i. 1; Ezra v. 1.

¹⁰ e.g. 1 Chron. xiii. 1.

is almost as strange a wonder as Behemoth or Leviathan.¹ The only moment in the Old Testament documents of the period at which an armed force of Hebrews appears is in the story of Nehemiah.² But this was an improvised and ephemeral force. The same book gives us a glimpse of the 'castle' which under other viceroys would rather overawe than protect Jerusalem, and of its 'governor.'³ Under the Maccabees the 'specialized' soldier would naturally reappear.⁴

(c) *Callings connected with Government.* Here for the village there are the perennial 'elders,'⁵ though these hardly formed a 'specialized' class. The 'watchman' as well falls here.⁶ There is also a word of vague meaning translated 'ruler,' as opposed to the 'common people.'⁷ Otherwise officers of government of Israelite blood only appear in the periods of Zerubbabel and Ezra. For instance, Haggai calls Zerubbabel 'governor,'⁸ and Ezra names 'magistrates,' 'judges,' and 'princes,'⁹ while Nehemiah refers to 'nobles' and 'rulers' or 'deputies' along with 'priests.'¹⁰ Elsewhere as a rule the references to governmental officers, as to military,¹¹ either describe Israel's past,¹² or relate to foreigners. Among the latter there are, for instance, the 'prince' and 'judge,'¹³ the 'deputy,'¹⁴ the 'officer' and 'exactor,'¹⁵ the 'noble,'¹⁶ the 'governor' or 'lieutenant' and the 'wise man,'¹⁷ the 'satrap,' the 'treasurer,' the 'counsellor,' the 'lawyer,' and the 'ruler' of a 'province,'¹⁸ the 'president' of the 'kingdom,'¹⁹ the 'master of the eunuchs.'²⁰ The terms in Daniel were no doubt borrowed from contemporary courts, as were similar terms in Esther, but neither illustrates the specialized callings of *Israel* at this time. There are several references to the 'post' or runner who carried official documents.²¹

(d) *Craftsmen and Artists.* Under the Monarchy these had at first been foreigners resident in Israel, but gradually handicraft began to be indigenous among the Hebrews.²² This complex phenomenon reappears after the Exile, as the passages below

¹ Job xxxix.-xli.

² Neh. iv.

³ Neh. ii. 8, vii. 2.

⁴ e.g. 1 Macc. xiii. 53, xiv. 32, xv. 25.

⁵ Prov. xxxi. 23; cf. Job xxix. 7 ff., 21 ff.

⁶ Ps. cxxvii. 1; Isa. lii. 8.

⁷ Lev. iv. 22, 27; cf. Exod. xvi. 22.

⁸ Hag. i. 1.

⁹ Ezra viii. 25, x. 14.

¹⁰ Neh. ii. 16.

¹¹ Cf. b.

¹² 1 Chron. xxvii.

¹³ Isa. xl. 23.

¹⁴ Isa. xli. 25.

¹⁵ Isa. ix. 17.

¹⁶ Isa. xxxiv. 12.

¹⁷ Jer. li. 23, 57.

¹⁸ Dan. iii. 2.

¹⁹ Dan. vi. 2, 7.

²⁰ Dan. i. 3.

²¹ e.g. Jer. li. 31; Job. ix. 25; Esther iii. 13.

²² B. D. S., pp. 120, 369.

show. It has already been seen that in the Dispersion it became usual for every Jewish boy to learn a handicraft.¹ The following list will suggest the variety of callings of this kind—the goldsmith,² jeweller,³ founder,⁴ refiner,⁵ wood-carver,⁶ carpenter,⁷ mason,⁸ smith,⁹ engraver,¹⁰ potter,¹¹ weaver,¹² embroiderer,¹³ perfumer,¹⁴ fuller,¹⁵ physician,¹⁶ apothecary (?),¹⁷ sailor,¹⁸ scribe,¹⁹ singing men and women,²⁰ nurses, male and female.²¹ The ‘unskilled labourer’ or ‘coolie’ of the towns should also be named here²² on the one side, and the semi-professional ‘sage,’ ‘preacher,’ and ‘collector of sentences’ on the other.²³

(e) *Agricultural Callings.* Here the simple and incomplete differentiation of village life recurs.²⁴ No doubt on a Hebrew farm one labourer would often fulfil more than one function. The ploughman is named,²⁵ the shepherd,²⁶ the shearer,²⁷ the vine dresser,²⁸ the farmer,²⁹ the hunter,³⁰ and the fowler.³¹

(f) *Commercial Callings.* Here ‘Canaanite’ still occurs as a synonym for ‘merchant,’³² and along with it another Monarchic term,³³ while a third term which first occurs just before the Exile³⁴ is also found.³⁵ The only other differentiated calling under this head was money-lending.³⁶ This, however, was not always a separate calling,³⁷ and no doubt it was often practised by the ‘merchants.’ The ‘business’ of the latter was not split up, as in modern times, under many different types, for ‘merchandise’ usually connotes articles that are easy of transport, and in ancient times these were comparatively few. For the most part they were articles of luxury. It is consonant with this that there are

¹ p. 151.

² Isa. xl. 19; Zech. vi. 10 f.; Exod. xxviii. 14 f.

³ Song of Sol. vii. 1.

⁴ Isa. xl. 19.

⁵ Mal. iii. 2 f.

⁶ Isa. xl. 20.

⁷ Isa. xli. 7; Ezra ii. 7.

⁸ Ps. cxviii. 22.

⁹ Isa. xli. 7; Zech. i. 20.

¹⁰ Job xix. 24.

¹¹ Isa. xli. 25; Zech. xi. 13.

¹² Job vii. 6.

¹³ Exod. xxvi. 1.

¹⁴ Exod. xxx. 25.

¹⁵ Mal. iii. 2.

¹⁶ Job xiii. 4.

¹⁷ Neh. iii. 8.

¹⁸ Isa. xlii. 10.

¹⁹ Job xix. 23; Ezra vii. 6.

²⁰ 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

²¹ Isa. xxii. 22 ff.; cf. 1 Chron. iv. 14, 21, 23, xv. 16 ff., xvi. 4 ff.; also Exod. xxxi. 2–11, xxxv. 30–36.

²² Neh. iv. 10, 17.

²³ Eccles. i. 1 f., xii. 11 ff.

²⁴ B. D. S., p. 370.

²⁵ Isa. lxi. 5; Ps. cxxix. 3.

²⁶ Isa. lxi. 5; Song of Sol. i. 8.

²⁷ Isa. liii. 7.

²⁸ Isa. lxi. 5; Jer. lii. 16.

²⁹ Jer. li. 2 marg.

³⁰ Job xviii. 8–10.

³¹ Ps. cxxiv. 7.

³² Prov. xxxi. 24; Job xli. 6.

³³ Isa. xlvi. 15.

³⁴ Nahum iii. 16.

³⁵ Neh. iii. 31.

³⁶ Isa. xxiv. 2.

³⁷ Neh. v. 7, 10.

no distinct terms for different kinds of 'merchant.' In Neh. xiii. 15 ff. there is a suggestive picture of the country-folk bringing in produce to the Jerusalem market; fish was supplied by Tyrians. By way of contrast to the chaffer of this Eastern market, Gen. xxiii. pictures the conduct of a courteous bargain by two 'gentlemen of the old school,' as they would now be called.

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